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THE  
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI  
PART IV

*GRENFELL AND HUNT*







EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND

GRAECO-ROMAN BRANCH

THE  
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

PART IV

*EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES*

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## NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

THE same general method is followed in the following pages as in preceding volumes. As before, a few of the new literary texts are printed in a dual form, a reconstruction in modern style accompanying a literal transcript. In other cases, and in the fragments of extant authors, the originals are reproduced except for division of words, addition of capital initials to proper names, expansion of abbreviations, and supplements, so far as possible, of lacunae. In 669, however, which is on a rather different level from the other literary pieces, accentuation and punctuation have been introduced as well as in 658, which strictly does not belong to the literary section at all. Additions or corrections by the same hand as the body of the text are in small thin type, those by a different hand in thick type. Non-literary documents are given in modern style only. Abbreviations and symbols are resolved; additions and corrections are usually incorporated in the text and their occurrence is recorded in the critical notes, where also faults of orthography, &c., are corrected wherever any difficulty could arise. Iota adscript is printed when so written, otherwise iota subscript is used. Square brackets [ ] indicate a lacuna, round brackets ( ) the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets < > a mistaken omission in the original; double square brackets [ [ ] ] mean that the letters within them have been deleted in the original, braces { } that the letters so enclosed, though actually written, should be omitted. Dots placed within brackets represent the approximate number of letters lost or deleted; dots outside brackets indicate mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Letters with dots underneath them are to be considered doubtful. Heavy Arabic numerals refer to the texts of the Oxyrhynchus papyri published in this volume and in Parts I-III; ordinary numerals to lines; small Roman numerals to columns.



## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations used in referring to papyrological publications are practically the same as those adopted by Wilcken in *Archiv* I. i. pp. 25-28, viz.:—

- P. Amh. I and II = The Amherst Papyri (Greek), Vols. I and II, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.  
*Archiv* = Archiv für Papyrusforschung.  
 B. G. U. = Aeg. Urkunden aus den Königl. Museen zu Berlin, Griech. Urkunden.  
 P. Brit. Mus. I and II = Catalogue of Greek Papyri in the British Museum, Vols. I and II, by F. G. Kenyon.  
 C. P. R. = Corpus Papyrorum Raineri, Vol. I, by C. Wessely.  
 P. Cairo = Greek Papyri in the Cairo Museum, Catalogue by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.  
 P. Catt. = Papyrus Cattaoui (*Archiv* iii. 55 sqq.).  
 P. Fay. Towns = Fayûm Towns and their Papyri, by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and D. G. Hogarth.  
 P. Gen. = Les Papyrus de Genève, by J. Nicole.  
 P. Goodsp. = Greek Papyri, by E. J. Goodspeed (*Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago*, Vol. V).  
 P. Grenf. I and II = Greek Papyri, Series I, by B. P. Grenfell; Series II, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.  
 P. Oxy. I, II and III = The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Parts I, II and III, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.  
 P. Par. = Les Papyrus Grecs du Musée du Louvre (*Notices et Extraits*, t. xviii. 2), by W. Brunet de Presle et E. Egger.  
 P. Petrie = The Flinders Petrie Papyri, by the Rev. J. P. Mahaffy.  
 Rev. Laws = Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus, by B. P. Grenfell, with Introduction by the Rev. J. P. Mahaffy.  
 P. Tebt. I = The Tebtunis Papyri, Part I, by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and J. G. Smyly.  
 Wilcken, *Ost.* = Griechische Ostraka, by U. Wilcken.



## I. THEOLOGICAL FRAGMENTS

---

### 654. NEW SAYINGS OF JESUS.

24.4 × 7.8 cm.

PLATE I.

By a curious stroke of good fortune our second excavations at Oxyrhynchus were, like the first, signalized by the discovery of a fragment of a collection of Sayings of Jesus. This consists of forty-two incomplete lines on the verso of a survey-list of various pieces of land, thus affording another example of the not uncommon practice of using the back of ephemeral documents for literary texts. The survey-list, which is in a cursive hand of the end of the second or early part of the third century, provides a *terminus a quo* for the writing on the other side. This, which is an upright informal uncial of medium size, we should assign to the middle or end of the third century; a later date than A.D. 300 is most unlikely. The present text is therefore nearly contemporary with the 'Logia' papyrus discovered in 1897, which also belongs to the third century, though probably to an earlier decade. In its general style and arrangement the present series of Sayings offers great resemblance to its predecessor. Here, as in the earlier 'Logia,' the individual Sayings are introduced by the formula 'Jesus saith,' and there is the same mingling of new and familiar elements; but the second series of Sayings is remarkable for the presence of the introduction to the whole collection (ll. 1-5), and another novelty is the fact that one of the Sayings (ll. 36 sqq.) is an answer to a question, the substance of which is reported (ll. 32-6). It is also noticeable that while in the first series the Sayings had little if any connexion of thought with each other, in the second series the first four at any rate are all concerned with the Kingdom of Heaven. That the present



text represents the beginning of a collection which later on included the original 'Logia' is very probable; this and the other general questions concerning the papyrus are discussed on pp. 10-22.

Excluding the introduction, there are parts of five separate Sayings, marked off from each other by paragraphi. In three cases (ll. 5, 9, and 36) a coronis indicates the end of a sentence, which in the two first cases is also the end of the Saying, but in the third is the end of the question to which the Saying is the answer. In all three instances the words λέγει Ἰησοῦς followed immediately after the coronis. In l. 27, however, there is no coronis at the end of the Saying, but there is one after the succeeding λέγει Ἰησοῦς. The scribe is thus inconsistent in his employment of this sign, and would seem to have misplaced it in l. 27, unless, indeed, his normal practice was to place a coronis both before and after λέγει Ἰησοῦς, and the absence of a coronis after σιν in l. 27 is a mere omission. It is noteworthy that in l. 27 a blank space is left where the coronis was to be expected. The single column of writing is complete at the top, but broken at the bottom and also vertically, causing the loss of the ends of lines throughout. From ll. 7-8, 15, 25, and 30, which can be restored with certainty from extant parallel passages, it appears that the lacunae at the ends of lines range from twelve to sixteen or at most eighteen letters, so that of each line, as far as l. 33, approximately only half is preserved. The introduction and the first and fourth Sayings admit of an almost complete reconstruction which is nearly or quite conclusive, but in the second, third, and fifth, which are for the most part entirely new, even the general sense is often obscure, and restorations are, except in a few lines, rather hazardous. The difficulties caused by the lacunae are enhanced by the carelessness of the scribe himself. The opening words οἱ τοῖτοι οἱ λόγοι are intolerable, even in third century Greek, and γνωσθε in l. 20 and αποκαλυφθησεται in l. 29 are forms that require correction; while several instances of the interchange of letters occur, e.g. ει and η in l. 8 βασιλευση, αι and ε in l. 23 επερωτησε, and probably in l. 18 γνωσεσθαι (cf. note *ad loc.*), τ and θ in l. 31 θεθαμμενον, and perhaps υ and η in l. 10 (cf. note *ad loc.*). In two cases (ll. 19 and 25) words which the scribe had at first omitted are added by him over the line. The only contraction which appears is ἰη̅ς for Ἰησοῦς; πατήρ in l. 19 and οὐρανός in ll. 11-2 are written out, as usually happens in the earliest theological papyri.

We proceed now to the text; in the accompanying translation supplements which are not practically certain are enclosed in round brackets.

For valuable assistance in connexion with the reconstruction, interpretation, and illustration of 654, we are indebted to Profs. Blass and Harnack, Dr. Bartlet, and Mr. F. P. Badham, but for the general remarks on pp. 10-22 we are alone responsible.



ΟΙ ΤΟΙΟΙ ΟΙ ΛΟΓΟΙ ΟΙ [  
 ΛΗCΕΝ ΙΗC Ο ΖΩΝ Κ[  
 ΚΑΙ ΘΩΜΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΠΕΝ [  
 ΑΝ ΤΩΝ ΛΟΓΩΝ ΤΟΥΤ[  
 5 ΟΥ ΜΗ ΓΕΥCΗΤΑΙ > [  
 ΜΗ ΠΑΥCΑCΘΩ Ο ΖΗ[  
 ΕΥΡΗ ΚΑΙ ΟΤΑΝ ΕΥΡΗ [  
 ΒΗΘΕΙC ΒΑCΙΛΕΥCΗ ΚΑ[  
 ΗCΕΤΑΙ > ΛΕΓΕΙ Ι[  
 10 ΟΙ ΕΛΚΟΝΤΕC ΗΜΑC [  
 Η ΒΑCΙΛΕΙΑ ΕΝ ΟΥΡΑ[  
 ΤΑ ΠΕΤΕΙΝΑ ΤΟΥ ΟΥΡ[  
 ΤΙ ΎΠΟ ΤΗΝ ΓΗΝ ΕCΤ[  
 ΟΙ ΙΧΘΥΕC ΤΗC ΘΑΛΑ[  
 15 ΤΕC ΎΜΑC ΚΑΙ Η ΒΑC[  
 ΕΝΤΟC ΎΜΩΝ [.]CΤΙ [  
 ΓΝΩ ΤΑΥΤΗΝ ΕΥΡΗ[  
 ΕΛΥΤΟΥC ΓΝΩCΕCΘΑΙ [  
 ΎΜΕΙC  
 ΕCΤΕ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟC ΤΟΥ Τ[  
 20 ΓΝΩCΘΕ ΕΛΥΤΟΥC ΕΝ[  
 ΚΑΙ ΎΜΕΙC ΕCΤΕ ΗΠΤΟ[

ΟΥΚ ΑΠΟΚΝΗCΕΙ ΑΝΘ[  
 ΡΩΝ ΕΠΕΡΩΤΗCΕ ΠΑ[  
 ΡΩΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΤΟΠΟΥ ΤΗ[  
 ΟΤΙ  
 25 CΕΤΕ ΠΟΛΛΟΙ ΕCΟΝΤΑΙ Π[  
 ΟΙ ΕCΧΑΤΟΙ ΠΡΩΤΟΙ ΚΑΙ [  
 CΙΝ ΛΕΓΕΙ ΙΗC > . [  
 ΘΕΝ ΤΗC ΟΨΕΩC CΟΥ ΚΑΙ [  
 ΑΠΟ CΟΥ ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΦΗCΕΤ[  
 30 ΤΙΝ ΚΡΥΠΤΟΝ Ο ΟΥ ΦΑΝΕ[  
 ΚΑΙ ΘΕΘΑΜΜΕΝΟΝ Ο Ο[  
 [. ]ΕΤΑΖΟΥCΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ Ο[  
 [. ]ΓΟΥCΙΝ ΠΩC ΝΗCΤΕΥ[  
 [. . . .]ΜΕΘΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΩC [  
 35 [. . . .]ΑΙ ΤΙ ΠΑΡΑΤΗΡΗC[  
 [. . . .]Ν > ΛΕΓΕΙ ΙΗC [  
 [. . . .]ΕΙΤΑΙ ΜΗ ΠΟΙΕΙΤ[  
 [. . . .]ΗC ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑC ΑΝ[  
 [. . . . .]Ν Α[.]ΟΚΕΚΡ[  
 40 [. . . . .]ΚΑΡΙ[.] ΕCΤΙΝ [  
 [. . . . .]Ω ΕCΤ[  
 [. . . . .]Ν[  
 . . . . .

## Introduction. ll. 1-5.

{οί} τοῖοι οἱ λόγοι οἱ [. . . . . οὐς ἐλά-  
 λησεν Ἰη(σοῦ)ς ὁ ζῶν κ[ύριος? . . . . .  
 καὶ Θωμᾶ καὶ εἶπεν [αὐτοῖς· πᾶς ὅστις  
 ἀν τῶν λόγων τούτ[ων ἀκούσῃ θανάτου  
 5 οὐ μὴ γεύσῃται.

'These are the (wonderful?) words which Jesus the living (lord) spake to . . . and Thomas, and he said unto (them), Every one that hearkens to these words shall never taste of death.'

The general sense of the introduction is clear, and most of the restorations are fairly certain. In l. 1 an adjective such as *θαυμάσιοι* is necessary after οἱ [. For ἀκούειν with the genitive in the sense of 'hearken to' as distinguished from merely hearing cf. e. g. Luke vi. 47 πᾶς ὁ . . . ἀκούων μου τῶν λόγων καὶ ποιῶν αὐτοῦς. For θανάτου] οὐ μὴ γεύσῃται, cf. Matt. xvi. 28, Mark ix. 1, Luke ix. 27, and especially John viii. 52 εἰάν τις τὸν λόγον μου τηρήσῃ, οὐ μὴ γεύσῃται θανάτου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. In these passages of the Synoptists θανάτου γεύεσθαι simply means 'die' in the literal sense; but here no doubt, as in the passage in

St. John, the phrase has the deeper and metaphorical meaning that those who obey Christ's words and attain to the kingdom, reach a state unaffected by the death of the body. The beginning of l. 1 requires some correction, οἱ τοῖοι οἱ λόγοι οἱ being extremely ugly. The corruption of οὗτοι into οἱ τοῖοι is not very likely, though cf. Luke xxiv. 44 εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτούς, οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι μου οὓς ἐλάλησα πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔτι ὧν σὺν ὑμῖν. But since τοῖος is found in late prose writers for τοιόσδε, the simplest course is to omit the initial οἱ. The ι of this οἱ being in a crack is not clear in the photograph, but is quite certain. The restoration of l. 2 presents the chief difficulty. κ[ύριος is very doubtful; κ[αί followed by e.g. ἀποθανών is equally likely, and several of the possible supplements at the end of the line require a longer word than κ[ύριος to precede. A dative before καὶ Θωμᾶ is necessary, and three alternatives suggest themselves:—(1) a proper name, in which case Φιλίππῳ or Ματθαίῳ (or Ματθαίῳ) are most likely in the light of the following words καὶ Θωμᾶ. Apocryphal Gospels assigned to Thomas, Philip, and Matthias are known, and in *Pistis Sophia* 70-1 Philip, Thomas, and Matthias (so Zahn with much probability in place of Matthew found in the text) are associated as the recipients of a special revelation; cf. Harnack, *Allochrest. Litterat.* I. p. 14; (2) a phrase such as τοῖς τε ἄλλοις or τοῖς (ἐ) μαθηταῖς (so Bartlet, cf. l. 32 and John xx. 26 καὶ . . . ἦσαν ἔσω οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ Θωμᾶς μετ' αὐτῶν); (3) 'Ιούδα τῷ] καὶ Θωμᾶ, suggested by Prof. Lake, who compares the frequent occurrence of the double name 'Ιούδας ὁ καὶ Θωμᾶς in the *Acts of Thomas*. The uncertainty attaching to the restoration is the more unfortunate, since much depends on it. If we adopt the first hypothesis, Thomas has only a secondary place; but on either of the other two he occupies the chief position, and this fact would obviously be of great importance in deciding the origin of the Sayings; cf. pp. 18 sqq. On the question whether the introduction implies a post-resurrectional point of view see pp. 13-4.

There is a considerable resemblance between the scheme of ll. 1-3, οἱ λόγοι . . . οὓς ἐλάλησεν Ἰησοῦς . . . καὶ εἶπεν, and the formulae employed in introducing several of the earliest citations of our Lord's Sayings, especially I Clem. 13 μάλιστα μεμνημένοι τῶν λόγων τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ οὓς ἐλάλησεν διδάσκων . . . οὕτως γὰρ εἶπεν, Acts xx. 35 μνημονεύειν τε τῶν λόγων τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ὅτι αὐτὸς εἶπεν. Rendel Harris had already (*Contemp. Rev.* 1897, pp. 346-8) suggested that those formulae were derived from the introduction of a primitive collection of Sayings known to St. Paul, Clement of Rome, and Polycarp, and this theory gains some support from the parallel afforded by the introduction in 654.

#### First Saying. ll. 5-9.

5 [λέγει Ἰη(σοῦ)ς·  
μὴ παυσάσθω ὁ ζητῶν . . . . . ἕως ἂν  
εὕρῃ καὶ ὅταν εὕρῃ [θαμβηθήσεται καὶ θαμ-  
βηθεὶς βασιλεύσει καὶ βασιλεύσας ἀναπα-  
ήσεται.

'Jesus saith, Let not him who seeks . . . cease until he finds, and when he finds he shall be astonished; astonished he shall reach the kingdom, and having reached the kingdom he shall rest.'

The conclusion of this Saying is quoted from the Gospel according to the Hebrews by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* ii. 9. 45) ἡ κἀν τῷ καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγελίῳ ὁ θανμάσας



βασιλεύσει γέγραπται καὶ ὁ βασιλεύσας ἀναπαύσεται. In *Strom.* v. 14. 96 (a passage to which Zahn first called attention, *Gesch. d. NT. Kan.* ii. p. 657) he quotes the Saying in a fuller and obviously more accurate form which agrees almost exactly with the papyrus, but without stating his source:—οὐ παύσεται ὁ ζητῶν ἕως ἂν εὕρῃ, εὕρων δὲ θαμβηθήσεται, θαμβηθεὶς δὲ βασιλεύσει, βασιλεύσας δὲ ἐπαναπαύσεται. The word after ζητῶν in l. 6 is very likely the object of ζητῶν (τὴν ζωὴν?; τὴν βασιλείαν is too long), but it may be another participle depending on πανσάσθω or an adverb. This part of the saying is parallel to Matt. vii. 7 (=Luke xi. 9) ζητεῖτε καὶ εὕρήσετε. The supplements in ll. 7–8 are already rather long in comparison with the length of lines required in ll. 15, 25, and 30, so that it is improbable that ἐπαναπαύσεται is to be supplied or that ὁ occurred in the papyrus before θαμβηθεὶς and βασιλεύσας (cf. the first quotation from Clement). ὁ δέ in place of καὶ is of course possible in l. 7, but since the papyrus has καὶ and not δέ in l. 8 καὶ is more likely also in l. 7. The occurrence of θαμβηθεὶς, not θαναμάσας, in ll. 7–8, confirms Zahn's acute suggestion (*Gesch. d. NT. Kan.* ii. p. 657) that θαμβηθεὶς was the original word; but we should not accept his ingenious explanation of it as a mistranslation of a Hebrew or Aramaic verb which could also mean θορυβηθεὶς, and his view that συντετριμμένος (cf. Luke iv. 18) would have been the right term. The attractiveness of this kind of conjecture is, as we have recently had occasion to remark (403 introd.), only equalled by its uncertainty. Now that the Saying is known in its completer form, and if we disregard the particular object (to show that the beginning of philosophy is wonder) to which Clement in the first of his two quotations turns it, this description of the successive stages in the attainment of the kingdom of Heaven seems to us decidedly striking, and by no means so far removed from the 'Anschaunngen des echten Urchristenthums' as Resch (*Agrapha*, pp. 378–9) considers. To the probable reference to it in II Clem. v. 5 (cf. the next note) ἡ δὲ ἐπαγγελία τοῦ Χριστοῦ μεγάλη καὶ θαυμαστή ἐστιν καὶ ἀνάπαυσις τῆς μελλούσης βασιλείας καὶ ζωῆς αἰωνίου, quoted by Resch (*l.c.*), Mr. Badham adds a remarkable one in the *Acts of Thomas* (ed. Bonnet, p. 243) οἱ ἀξίως μεταλαμβάνοντες τῶν ἐκεῖ ἀγαθῶν ἀναπαύονται καὶ ἀναπαυόμενοι βασιλεύσουσιν<sup>1</sup>.

As Dr. Bartlet aptly remarks, the idea of the necessity for strenuous effort in order to attain to the kingdom has much in common, not only with the 3rd Saying οὐκ ἀποκνήσει ἀνθρώπος κ.τ.λ., but with the 5th Logion ('Raise the stone and there thou shalt find me'); cf. pp. 12–3.

#### Second Saying. ll. 9–21.

λέγει Ἰ[η(σοῦς) . . . . . τίνες

10 οἱ ἔλκοντες ἡμᾶς [εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν εἰ

ἡ βασιλεία ἐν οὐρα[νῷ ἐστιν; . . . . .

τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν θηρίων ὁ-

<sup>1</sup> Since this volume was put into type, Harnack has expressed his views of this *Agraphon* in *Sitzungsber. d. Berl. Akad.* 1904, pp. 175–9. He there shows in opposition to Zahn that astonishment is to be interpreted here as a sign of joy, not of fear, and strongly repels the unfavourable criticisms of Resch upon the Saying, of which Harnack in fact maintains the substantial genuineness. Incidentally, as he also remarks, the close parallelism between the language of the papyrus and Clement is important, for from whatever source this Saying found its way into the present collection, it cannot have come through Clement. There is, therefore, good reason to think that the Gospel according to the Hebrews (or at least a part of it) was known in Egypt in a Greek version at an early period, a view which has been disputed by Zahn.

τι ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν ἐστ[ιν] ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ  
 οἱ ἰχθύες τῆς θαλά[σσης] οὗτοι οἱ ἔλκον-  
 15 τες ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν  
 ἐντὸς ὑμῶν [ἐ]στι [καὶ] ὅστις ἂν ἑαυτὸν  
 γνῶ ταύτην εὐρή[σει] . . . . .  
 ἑαυτοὺς γνῶσεσθε [καὶ] εἰδήσετε ὅτι υἱοὶ  
 ἐστε ὑμεῖς τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ τ[ῆς] . . . . .  
 20 γνῶσ(εσ)θε ἑαυτοὺς ἐν[ ] . . . . .  
 καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐστὲ ηπτο[ ] . . .

' Jesus saith, (Ye ask? who are those) that draw us (to the kingdom, if) the kingdom is in Heaven? . . . the fowls of the air, and all beasts that are under the earth or upon the earth, and the fishes of the sea, (these are they which draw) you, and the kingdom of Heaven is within you; and whoever shall know himself shall find it. (Strive therefore?) to know yourselves, and ye shall be aware that ye are the sons of the . . . Father; (and?) ye shall know yourselves . . . and ye are . . . '

The reconstruction of this, the longest and most important of the Sayings, is extremely difficult. Beyond the supplements in l. 15 which are based on the parallel in Luke xvii. 21 with the substitution of τῶν οὐρανῶν, St. Matthew's phrase, for St. Luke's τοῦ θεοῦ which is too short for the lacuna, and those in ll. 12-3, 16, and 18, the general accuracy of which is guaranteed by the context, it is impossible to proceed without venturing into the region of pure conjecture. There seems to be no direct parallel to or trace of this Saying among the other non-canonical Sayings ascribed to our Lord, and the materials provided by ll. 10-12—οἱ ἔλκοντες, the kingdom of Heaven and the fowls of the air—are at first sight so disparate that the recovery of the connexion between them may seem a hopeless task. But though no restoration of ll. 9-14 can hope to be very convincing, and by adopting different supplements from those which we have suggested, quite another meaning can no doubt be obtained (see below), we think that a fairly good case can be made out in favour of our general interpretation. The basis of it is the close parallelism which we have supposed to exist between l. 15 τες ὑμᾶς καὶ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν and, on the other hand, l. 10 οἱ ἔλκοντες ἡμᾶς followed in l. 11 by ἡ βασιλεία ἐν οὐρα[νῷ], whereby we restore οἱ ἔλκον] at the end of l. 14. If this be granted ll. 9-16 divide themselves naturally into two parallel halves at the lacuna in l. 11, ll. 9-10 corresponding to ll. 12-5, and l. 11 to ll. 15-6. How is this correspondence to be explained? The simplest solution is to suppose that ll. 9-11 are a question to which ll. 12-6 form the answer; hence we supply τίνες in l. 9; cf. the 5th Saying, which is an answer to a question. A difficulty then arises that we have ἔλκοντες ἡμᾶς in l. 10 but ἔλκον]τες ὑμᾶς in ll. 14-5. This may be a mere accident due to the common confusion of ὑμεῖς and ἡμεῖς in papyri of this period, and perhaps ὑμᾶς should be read in both cases. But ἡμᾶς in l. 10 can be defended in two ways, by supposing either that Jesus here lays stress rather on His human than on His divine nature, and associates Himself with the disciples, or that the question is put into the mouth of the disciples, i.e. the word before τίνες was ἐρωτᾶτε or the like. There remains, however, the greatest crux of all, the meaning of ἔλκοντες. In the two passages in which this word



occurs in the New Testament it has an unfavourable sense; but here a favourable meaning is much more likely, as with ἐλκύειν in John vi. 44 εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ . . . ἐλκύσῃ αὐτόν and xii. 32 πάντας ἐλκύσω πρὸς ἑμαυτόν: Mr. Badham compares Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 6 τοὺς μὲν γὰρ (i.e. wild beasts of sinners) προτρέπει ὁ Κύριος τοῖς δὲ ἤδη ἐγχειρήσασιν καὶ χεῖρα ὀρέγει καὶ ἀνέλκει, and *ibid.* v. 12 ἡ ἰσχὺς τοῦ Λόγου . . . πάντα τὸν καταδεξάμενον καὶ ἐντὸς ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἔλκει. A phrase such as εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν is required to explain ἔλκοντες, though even with this addition the use of that word in such a context must be admitted to be difficult. The idea in ll. 12–6 seems to be that the divine element in the world begins in the lower stages of animal creation, and rises to a higher stage in man, who has within him the kingdom of Heaven; cf. Clement's discussion (*Strom.* v. 13) of Xenocrates' view that even ἀλογα ζῶα possibly had some τοῦ θεοῦ ἔννοια, and the curious sanctity of certain animals in the various Apocryphal Acts, e.g. Thecla's baptized lioness, Thomas's ass, Philip's leopard and kid buried at the door of the church. It is possible that there is some connexion between this Saying and the use of Luke xvii. 21 by the Naassenes; cf. p. 18. The transition from the inward character of the kingdom to the necessity for self-knowledge (ll. 16–21) is natural. Since the kingdom is not an external manifestation but an inward principle, men must know themselves in order to attain to its realization. The old Greek proverb γνῶθι σεαυτόν is thus given a fresh significance. Mr. Badham well compares Clem. *Paedag.* iii. 1 ἦν ἄρα ὡς ἔοικε πάντων μέγιστον μαθημάτων τὸ γνῶναι αὐτόν· ἑαυτόν γάρ τις εἰάν γνῶῃ θεὸν εἴσεται. For the restoration of l. 16, cf. l. 18. ταύτην in l. 17 is the βασιλεία. This line may have ended with something like ὅπως οὖν, if we are right in correcting γνώσεσθαι to γνώσεσθε (cf. the similar confusion in l. 23). For νιοί, which is required by the context in l. 18, cf. e.g. Luke xx. 36. τ[ in l. 19 (π[ is equally possible) is perhaps the beginning of an adjective, but τούτ[ου χάριν, e.g., might also be read. How γνώσθε in l. 20 is to be emended is uncertain; we suggest γνώσ(ε)σθε, but the corruption may go deeper. ε[ is perhaps ἐντὸς τῆς βασιλείας. ηπτο[ in l. 21 is very obscure; the letter following τ may be ε, ο or ω; but neither if η is the article, nor if ηπτο[ is one word, does any suitable restoration suggest itself. ηπτο[ can hardly be a participle, for if λέγει Ἰη(σοῦ)ς occurred, as would be expected, at the end of the line, there is room for only about four more letters in the lacuna. It is tempting to read ἡ π{τ}όλις, with ἐν[τῇ πόλει τοῦ θεοῦ in l. 20, as Blass suggests, comparing for the omission of ὄντας Mark vi. 20 εἰδὼς αὐτὸν ἄνδρα δίκαιον.

Another and quite different restoration of the early part of this Saying is suggested by Dr. Bartlet, who would read λέγει Ἰη(σοῦ)ς· μὴ φοβεῖσθωσαν οἱ ἔλκοντες ὑμᾶς [ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὑμῶν γὰρ] ἡ βασιλεία ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ὑφ' ὑμῖν ἔσται τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ πᾶν ζῶον ὃ τι ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν ἐστίν· τὰ τε ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ οἱ ἰχθύες τῆς θαλάσσης . . ., comparing the idea in *Epistle of Barnabas*, vi. 12 and 18 τίς οὖν ὁ δυνάμενος νῦν ἄρχειν θηρίων ἢ ἰχθύων ἢ πετεινῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ; αἰσθάνεσθαι γὰρ ὀφείλομεν ὅτι τὸ ἄρχειν ἐξουσίας ἐστίν, ἵνα τις ἐπιτάξας κυριεύσῃ. εἰ οὖν οὐ γίνεται τοῦτο νῦν, ἄρα ἡμῖν εἴρηκεν πότε· ὅταν καὶ αὐτοὶ τελειωθῶμεν, κληρονόμοι τῆς διαθήκης κυρίου γενέσθαι, and II Clem. v. 4 εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ Πέτρῳ· μὴ φοβεῖσθωσαν τὰ ἀρνία τοὺς λύκους . . . καὶ γινώσκετε, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι ἡ ἐπιδημία ἡ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ τῆς σαρκὸς ταύτης μικρά ἐστὶ καὶ ὀλιγοχρόνιος, ἡ δὲ ἐπαγγελία τοῦ Χριστοῦ κ.τ.λ. (a passage resembling the 1st Saying; cf. note, *ad loc.*). The parallels from Barnabas and Clement perhaps give this restoration some advantage over ours, but ἔλκοντες alone without an explanatory phrase is not a satisfactory word for 'persecute,' and the transition from the promise of the kingdom of Heaven to the fowls of the air is very abrupt and almost inconsequent, while it is difficult to find the connexion between the fowls of the air and the second mention of the kingdom of Heaven. This, the chief problem in the 2nd Saying, seems more easily explained by the hypothesis of a repetition of ἔλκοντες and the resulting parallelism between the two halves of ll. 9–16 which we have suggested.

## Third Saying. ll. 21-7.

[ λέγει 'Ιη(σοῦ)s·

οὐκ ἀποκνήσει ἀνθ[ρωπος . . . . .  
 ρων ἐπερωτήσαι πα[ . . . . .  
 ρων περὶ τοῦ τόπου τῇ[s . . . . .  
 25 σετε ὅτι πολλοὶ ἔσονται π[ρῶτοι ἔσχατοι καὶ  
 οἱ ἔσχατοι πρῶτοι καὶ [. . . . .  
 σιν.

‘Jesus saith, A man shall not hesitate . . . to ask . . . concerning his place (in the kingdom. Ye shall know) that many that are first shall be last and the last first and (they shall have eternal life?).’

Line 24 may well have continued τῇ[s βασιλείας followed by a word meaning ‘know’ (? εἰδήσετε, or γνώσετε or ἀκούσετε, for γνώσεται or ἀκούσεται), but the double -ρων in ll. 23 and 24 is very puzzling, and in the absence of a clear parallel we forbear to restore the earlier part of the Saying. Dr. Bartlet suggests a connexion with the *Apocalypse of Peter*, e. g. § 4 καὶ ἐφην αὐτῷ· καὶ ποῦ εἰσι πάντες οἱ δίκαιοι ἢ ποῖός ἐστιν ὁ αἰὼν ἐν ᾧ εἰσι ταύτην ἔχοντες τὴν δόξαν, § 5 οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τόπος τῶν ἀρχέρων (l. ἀρχαίων, Bartlet) ὑμῶν τῶν δικαίων ἀνθρώπων, taking ἀρχαίων to be equivalent to πρεσβυτέρων in Heb. xi. 2, or to πατέρων; cf. Matt. v. 21, 33 ἐρρέθη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις and Luke ix. 8, 19. But the problem was an old one. Lines 25-6 πολλοὶ . . . πρῶτοι follow Mark x. 31 (= Matt. xix. 30) πολλοὶ δὲ ἔσονται πρῶτοι ἔσχατοι καὶ οἱ ἔσχατοι πρῶτοι. In the insertion of οἱ before ἔσχατοι the papyrus agrees with BC and many MSS. in Mark x. 31; ND and other MSS. omit οἱ there, and in Matt. xix. 30 οἱ is generally omitted, though found in C and some others. Luke xiii. 30 is rather longer, καὶ ἰδοὺ εἰσὶν ἔσχατοι οἱ ἔσονται πρῶτοι καὶ εἰσὶν πρῶτοι οἱ ἔσονται ἔσχατοι. σιν in l. 27 is no doubt the termination of a verb: ζῶν (αἰώνιον) κληρονομήσου]σιν (Matt. xix. 29) and μετ’ ἐμοῦ βασιλεύσου]σιν are too long, but ζῶν αἰώνιον ἔξου]σιν (cf. John iii. 16, 36, v. 24, &c.) is possible.

## Fourth Saying. ll. 27-31.

λέγει 'Ιη(σοῦ)s· [πάν τὸ μὴ ἔμπροσ-  
 θεν τῆς ὄψεως σου καὶ [τὸ κεκρυμμένον  
 ἀπὸ σοῦ ἀποκαλυφ(θ)ήσεται[αί σοι. οὐ γάρ ἐσ-  
 30 τιν κρυπτὸν ὃ οὐ φανε[ρὸν γενήσεται  
 καὶ τεθαμμένον ὃ οὐκ ἐγερθήσεται.

‘Jesus saith, Everything that is not before thy face and that which is hidden from thee shall be revealed to thee. For there is nothing hidden which shall not be made manifest, nor buried which shall not be raised.’

The sense of this Saying is clear, and the supplements are fairly certain. Lines 29-30





Matt. xix. 16-22 and Luke xviii. 18-22, but the occurrence of ἀλήθεια and ἀ[π]οκεκρ[υμμένον] (?) suggests that the language was more Johannine in character. Line 39, as Prof. Lake remarks, could be restored on the basis of Rev. ii. 17 τὸ μάν[υα] [τ]ὸ κεκρ[υμμένον]. The reference to fasting in l. 33 suggests a connexion with the 2nd Logion ('Except ye fast to the world'), which may well have been an answer to a similar question by the disciples.

We do not propose to enter upon a detailed examination of the numerous and complicated problems involving the Canonical and Apocryphal Gospels and the 'Logia' of 1897, which are reopened by the discovery of the new Sayings. But we may be permitted to indicate the broader issues at stake, and in the light of the wide discussion of the Logia of 1897 to point out some effects of the new elements now introduced into the controversy.

We start therefore with a comparison of the two series of Sayings (which we shall henceforth call **1** and **654**). Both were found on the same site and the papyri are of approximately the same date, which is not later than about the middle of the third century, so that both collections must go back at least to the second century. The outward appearance of the two papyri is indeed different, **1** being a leaf from a handsomely-written book, which may well have been a valuable trade-copy, while **654** is in roll form and was written on the verso of a comparatively trivial document. The practice of writing important literary texts on such material was, however, extremely common, and the form of **654** lends no support to the hypothesis that the papyrus is a collection of notes made by the writer himself. In the uncial character of the handwriting, the absence of abbreviations and contractions other than those usually found in early theological MSS., and the careful punctuation by the use of the paragraphus and coronis, **654** shares the characteristics of an ordinary literary text such as **1**. Since **1** is the 11th page of a book, it must have formed part of a large collection of Sayings, while **654** comes from the beginning of a manuscript and provides no direct evidence of the length of the roll. But the document on the recto is not a letter or contract which would be likely to be short, but an official land-survey list, and these tend to be of very great length, e.g. P. Brit. Mus. 267, P. Tebt. I. 84-5. The recently published Leipzig papyrus of the Psalms (Heinrici, *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. NT.* iv), though incomplete at the beginning and end, contains as many as thirty-six columns written in cursive on the verso. So far therefore as can be judged from externals, **654** like **1** probably belongs to an extensive collection of Sayings which may well have numbered several hundreds.

Turning next to the contents of the two papyri, no one can fail to be struck with their formal resemblance. Postponing for the moment the introduction of **654** (ll. 1-5), which, since it necessarily presupposes the existence of the Sayings introduced and may have been added later, stands on a different footing from the Sayings and requires separate treatment, the five Sayings partly recorded in **654** begin like those in **1** with the simple formula λέγει Ἰησοῦς; and both fragments contain Sayings which to a greater or less degree have parallel passages in the Synoptic Gospels side by side with Sayings which are new. In **1** the style was simple and direct, and the setting, with the constant balancing of the words and sentences and the absence of connecting particles, highly archaic; the same features, though obscured unfortunately by the incompleteness of the papyrus, are also distinctly traceable in **654**. There is, however, one difference in the two papyri in point of form. To the 5th Saying in **654** (ll. 36 sqq.) is prefixed (ll. 32-6) a brief account of the question to which it was the answer. This may prove to be of great importance in deciding the origin of these Sayings, but for our present purpose it is sufficient to point out that even in **654** the occurrence of the context is the exception, not the rule, and the fact that the Sayings in **1** agree with the



first four Sayings in 654 in omitting the context rather than with the 5th obviously produces no serious conflict between the two documents.

We proceed to a closer examination of the two series. In 1 the 7th Logion ('A city built on a hill') is connected with St. Matthew's Gospel alone; the 6th ('A prophet is not acceptable') has a noticeable point of contact with St. Luke in the use of the word *δεκτός*, and the 1st also agrees with St. Luke. The 5th ('Wherever there are') starts with a parallel to St. Matthew, but extends into a region far beyond. Nowhere in 1 can the influence of St. Mark be traced, nor was there any direct parallel with St. John's Gospel; but the new Sayings, both in thought and expression, tended to have a mystical and Johannine character. In 654 we have one Saying (the 2nd) of which the central idea is parallel to a passage found in St. Luke alone, but of which the developments are new; the conclusion of the 3rd Saying connects with St. Matthew and St. Mark rather than with St. Luke, while the 4th is a different version of a Saying found in all three Synoptists, and is on the whole nearer to St. Mark than to the other two Evangelists. The 1st Saying and, so far as we can judge, the 5th have little, if any, point of contact with the Canonical Gospels. As in 1, so in 654 the new elements tend to have a Johannine colouring, especially in the 2nd Saying; but some caution must be observed in tracing connexions with St. John's theology. The 1st Saying, if the papyrus had been the sole authority for it, might well have seemed nearer in style to St. John than to the Synoptists; yet as a matter of fact it occurred in the Gospel according to the Hebrews, a very early work which is generally admitted to have been originally written in Hebrew and to have been independent of the Canonical Gospels, most of all St. John's. On the other hand, while the Sayings in 654 contain nothing so markedly Johannine in style as e.g. 'I stood in the midst of the world . . .' in 1. 11 sqq., the introduction contains a clear parallel to John viii. 52. This at first sight may perhaps seem to imply a knowledge of St. John's Gospel on the part of the author of the introduction, but it must be remembered (1) that St. John may well not have been the sole authority for the attribution of that Saying to our Lord, and if so, that the author of the introduction may have obtained it from another source, (2) that a knowledge of St. John's Gospel on the part of the author of the introduction does not necessarily imply a corresponding debt to that Gospel in the following Sayings, which, as we have said, stand on a somewhat different footing from the introduction.

In our original edition of 1 we maintained (*a*) that the Sayings had no traceable thread of connexion with each other beyond the fact of their being ascribed to the same speaker, (*b*) that none of them implied a post-resurrectional point of view, (*c*) that they were not in themselves heretical, and that though the asceticism of Log. 2 and the mystic character of Log. 5 were obviously capable of development in Encratite and Gnostic directions, the Sayings as a whole were much nearer in style to the New Testament than to the apocryphal literature of the middle and end of the second century. If these positions have been vigorously assailed, they have also been stoutly defended, and about the second and third no general agreement has been reached; with regard to the first the balance of opinion has been in favour of our view, and the various attempts to trace a connexion of ideas running through the Sayings have met with little acceptance. What answer is to be returned to the corresponding problems in 654?

We will take the third question first. Is there anything in 654 to show that the Sayings originated in or circulated among a particular sect? We should answer this in the negative. There is nothing heretical in the introduction, the 1st, 3rd, and 4th Sayings, or, so far as can be judged, the 5th. The Encratite leanings which have been ascribed to the 2nd Logion are conspicuously absent in 654; the remains of the 5th Saying in fact rather suggest an anti-Jewish point of view, from which however the 2nd Logion itself

was not widely distant, if, as we strongly hold, *νηστεύσητε* and *σαββαρίζητε* are to be taken metaphorically. The absence of any Jewish-Christian element in 654 is the more remarkable seeing that the 1st Saying also occurs in the Gospel according to the Hebrews. The only Saying that is at all suspicious is the 2nd, which like Log. 5 is sure to be called in some quarters 'Gnostic.' That the profoundly mystical but, as it seems to us, obviously genuine Saying of our Lord recorded in Luke xvii. 21 'The kingdom of God is within you' should have given rise to much speculation was to be expected, and from Hippolytus *Refut.* v. 7 it is known that this Saying occupied an important place in the doctrines of the Naassenes, one of the most pronounced Gnostic sects of the second or early third century. That there is a connexion between the Sayings and the Naassenes through the Gospel of Thomas is quite possible and this point will be discussed later (pp. 18-9); but to import Naassene tenets into the 2nd Saying in 654 is not only gratuitous but a *ὑστερον πρότερον*. Moreover, though the other ideas in the Saying connected with the parallel from St. Luke, the development of the kingdom of Heaven through brute creation up to man (if that be the meaning of ll. 9-16), and the Christian turn given to the proverbial *γνώθι σεαυτόν* (ll. 16-21), may point to a later stage of thought than that found in the Canonical Gospels, the 2nd Saying as a whole, if 'Gnostic,' presents a very primitive kind of Gnosticism, and is widely separated from the fully-developed theosophy of e.g. the *Pistis Sophia*. In any case the 'Gnosticism' of 654 is on much the same level as that of 1.

Do any of the Sayings (apart from the introduction) imply a post-resurrectional point of view? This too we should answer in the negative. There is not only nothing in them to indicate that they were spoken after the resurrection, but substantial evidence for the opposite view. The familiar Sayings in the Canonical Gospels which are parallel to those found in 654 are there assigned to our Lord's lifetime, including even John viii. 52. The Gospel according to the Hebrews with which the 1st Saying is connected covered the same ground as the Synoptists, and there is no reason to suppose that this Saying occurred there as a post-resurrectional utterance. But the best argument is provided by the 5th Saying, especially its context which is fortunately given. The questions there addressed to Jesus clearly belong to a class of problems which are known to have been raised by our Lord's disciples and others in his lifetime, and, if *ἐξετάζουσιν* is in any case a somewhat stronger term than would be expected, seeing that the disciples seem to be the subject (though cf. John xxi. 12), it is most unlikely that this word would have been used with reference to the risen Christ. In fact none of the five Sayings in 654 suggests a post-resurrectional point of view so much as the 3rd Logion ('I stood in the midst of the world'); cf. pp. 13-4.

Can a definite principle or train of ideas be traced through the Sayings? The first four are certainly linked together by the connecting idea of the kingdom of Heaven, which is the subject to a greater or less degree of all of them. But between the 4th and 5th Sayings the chain is certainly much weaker and threatens to snap altogether. It is very difficult to believe that if 654 was part of a large collection of similar Sayings a connexion of thought could have been maintained throughout, and the Sayings in the later columns of 654 may well have been as disconnected as those in 1. Even in the five which are partly preserved in 654 there is a constant change in the persons addressed, the 1st and 3rd being couched in the third singular, the 2nd and almost certainly the 5th in the second plural, and the 4th in the second singular. Moreover the real link is, we think, supplied by the introduction, the consideration of which can no longer be delayed. Only before proceeding further we would state our conviction that in all essential points, the date of the papyrus, the form of the Sayings, their relation to the Canonical Gospels, and the general character of the new elements in them, to say nothing of the parallelism of thought between the 1st and



3rd Sayings and the 5th Logion (cf. p. 5), the resemblances between 654 and 1 so far outweigh the differences that for practical purposes they may be treated as parts of the same collection. Even if it ever should be proved that the first page of 1 did not coincide with 654, the two fragments so clearly reflect the same surroundings and mental conditions that we cannot regard as satisfactory any explanation of the one which is incompatible with the other.

'These are the . . . words which Jesus the living . . . spake to . . . and Thomas, and he said unto them "Every one that hearkens to these words shall never taste of death."' Such is the remarkable opening prefixed to the collection of Sayings in 654 by its unknown editor. The first point to be noticed is that the name given to the collection is, as was acutely divined by Dr. Lock (*Two Lectures on the Sayings of Jesus*, p. 16), λόγοι not λόγια, and all questions concerning the meaning of the latter term may therefore be left out of account in dealing with the present series of Sayings. The converse of this, however, in our opinion by no means holds good, and as we have pointed out (p. 4), the analogy of the present document has a considerable bearing upon the problems concerning an early collection of λόγια. Secondly, the collection is represented as being spoken either to St. Thomas alone or to St. Thomas and another disciple or, less probably, other disciples. Does the compiler mean that the Sayings were the subject of a special revelation to St. Thomas and perhaps another disciple, from which the rest were excluded? In other words is this introduction parallel to that passage in the *Pistis Sophia* 70-1 in which mention is made of a special revelation to SS. Philip, Thomas, and Matthias (or Matthew; cf. p. 4)? The case in favour of an affirmative answer to this query would be greatly strengthened if the introduction provided any indication that the editor assigned his collection of Sayings to the period after the Resurrection. But no such evidence is forthcoming. We do not wish to lay stress on δ ζων in l. 2 owing to the uncertainty attaching to the word that follows; but the phrase δ ζων certainly does not point to the post-resurrection period. In the Canonical Gospels St. Thomas is made prominent only in connexion with that period (John xx. 24 sqq.), but this circumstance, which is probably the strongest argument in favour of a post-resurrectional point of view, is discounted by the fact that the Gospel of Thomas, so far as can be judged, was not of the nature of a post-resurrectional Gospel but rather a Gospel of the childhood (cf. pp. 18-9), and, secondly, seems to be outweighed by the indications in the Sayings themselves (cf. p. 12) that some of them at any rate were assigned to Jesus' lifetime. The force of the second argument can indeed be turned by supposing, as Dr. Bartlet suggests, that the standpoint of the collection, both in 1 and 654, is that of a post-resurrection interview in which the old teaching of Christ's lifetime is declared again in relation to the larger needs of Christian experience. But such a view necessarily implies that ll. 1-3 define a particular occasion (e. g. that contemplated in John xx. 26) on which the Sayings were spoken in their present order, and to this hypothesis there are grave objections. The use of the aorists ἐλάλησεν and εἶπεν in 654. 2-3 does not prove that one occasion only was meant. The repetition of λέγει Ἰησοῦς before each of the Sayings seems very unnecessary if they are part of a continuous discourse. The difficulty of tracing a connexion of ideas throughout 654, and still more throughout 1, and the frequent changes in the persons addressed provide fresh obstacles to such an interpretation; and the inappropriateness of the word ἐξετάζουσιν in connexion with the risen Christ has already been alluded to (p. 12). To suppose that 654. 3-31 is a speech in itself, that ll. 32-6 revert to the original narrative broken off at l. 3 and that 1 is part of a later discourse appears to us a very strained interpretation.

We are not therefore disposed to consider that the introduction to the Sayings, any more than the Sayings by themselves, implies a post-resurrectional point of view on the part

of the compiler, still less that the background of the Sayings is at all the same as that contemplated in the *Pistis Sophia*, which belongs to a later stage of thought than the Sayings. Hence we are not prepared to accept an analogy derived from that or any other similar treatise as an argument for thinking that the editor by his introduction meant to imply that St. Thomas or St. Thomas and some one else were the sole hearers of the Sayings. What we think he did mean to imply was that the ultimate authority for the record of these Sayings was in his opinion St. Thomas or St. Thomas and another disciple. This hypothesis provides a satisfactory, in fact we think the only satisfactory, explanation of the frequent changes of persons and abrupt transitions of subject which characterize the Sayings as a whole.

Thirdly, the editor enforces the momentous claim which he has made for the authoritative character of the Sayings by quoting a sentence which, with several variations of language, but not of thought, occurs in John viii. 52, and which in the present context forms a highly appropriate prelude. Does this imply that the editor adapted the verse in St. John to his own purposes? On this point, since we are not prepared to maintain that that passage in St. John is essentially unhistorical, we cannot give a decided opinion; and in any case the probable relation of 654 to St. John's Gospel must be considered from the point of view of the collection of Sayings as a whole and of the conclusions adopted as to the editor's claim, rather than made a starting-point for an investigation of that claim and the source of the Sayings. For as we have said (p. 10), the introduction necessarily stands on a somewhat different footing from the Sayings, and even if knowledge and use of the Canonical Gospels by the author of the introduction was certain, this would not prove a corresponding dependence of the Sayings themselves upon the Canonical Gospels. All that can at present safely be inferred from the parallelism between the introduction and St. John is that the editor of the collection lived in an atmosphere of thought influenced by those speculative ideas in early Christianity which found their highest expression in the Fourth Gospel.

What value, if any, is to be attached to this far-reaching claim—that the collection of Sayings derives its authority, not from the traditional sources of any of the four Canonical Gospels, but from St. Thomas and perhaps another disciple? The custom of invoking the authority of a great and familiar name for an anonymous and later work is so common in early Christian, as in other, writings, that the mere statement of the editor carries no weight by itself, and is not worth considering unless the internal evidence of the Sayings themselves can be shown to point in the same direction or at any rate to be not inconsistent with his claim. We pass therefore to the problem of the general nature and origin of the Sayings in 654 and 1, and as a convenient method of inquiry start from an examination of the various theories already put forward in explanation of 1. Not that we wish to hold any of our critics to their previous opinions on the subject. The discovery of 654, with the introduction containing the mention of Thomas and a close parallel to St. John's Gospel, with one Saying coinciding with a citation from the Gospel to the Hebrews and another having the context prefixed to it, introduces several novel and highly important factors into the controversy; and, being convinced of the close connexion between 1 and 654, we consider that all questions concerning 1 must be studied *de novo*. But since most of the chief New Testament scholars have expressed their views on 1, and an immense variety of opinion is represented, it is not likely that we shall require to go far outside the range of solutions which have already been suggested. A convenient bibliography and resumé of the controversy will be found in Profs. Lock and Sanday's *Two Lectures on the Sayings of Jesus*.

In our original edition of 1 we proposed A.D. 140 as the latest date to which the composition of the Sayings could be referred. This *terminus ad quem* has generally been



accepted, even by Dr. Sanday, who is amongst the most conservative of our critics; and the only notable exception is, so far as we know, Zahn, who would make the Sayings as late as 160-70. But his explanation of 1 has met with little favour, and, as we shall show, is now rendered still less probable. Accordingly, we should propose A.D. 140 for the *terminus ad quem* in reference to 654 with greater confidence than we felt about 1 in 1897.

The chief dividing line in the controversy lies between those who agreed with our suggestion that 1 belonged to a collection of Sayings as such, and those who considered 1 to be a series of extracts from one or more of the numerous extra-canonical gospels which are known to have circulated in Egypt in the second century. Does 654 help to decide the question in either direction? One argument which has been widely used in support of the view that 1 was really a series of extracts, viz. that the Sayings had no contexts, is somewhat damaged by the appearance of a Saying which has a context. But we are not disposed to lay stress on this contradictory instance, which is clearly exceptional, though we may be pardoned for deprecating beforehand the use of the converse argument that the occurrence of a context proves the Sayings to be extracts. This argument may seem to gain some support from the use of *αὐτόν* (and probably *αὐτοῦ*) in 654. 32; and it will very likely be pointed out that such a passage as 655. 17-23 would by the insertion of *Ἰησοῦς* after *λέγει* make a context and Saying in form exactly resembling 654. 32 sqq. But the use of *αὐτόν* causes no ambiguity where it is found in one of a series of Sayings each beginning *λέγει Ἰησοῦς*, a formula which itself recurs later on in the same context; and the argument from the analogy of 655. 17-23 is open to the obvious retort that such a passage may equally well have been transferred from a collection of Sayings with occasional contexts, like 654. The fact is that the formal presence or absence of contexts in a series of Sayings can be employed with equal plausibility to prove or disprove the view that the series consisted of extracts, and would therefore seem a very unsound argument to introduce into the discussion. The matter of the context of the 5th Saying, however, has perhaps a more important bearing than the form upon the question of extracts. The phrase *λέγει Ἰησοῦς* there follows two historic presents, *ἐξετάζουσιν* and *λέγουσιν*, and is therefore presumably itself a historic present; and if *λέγει Ἰησοῦς* is a historic present in one case, it should be so throughout 654 and 1. This context therefore confirms the explanation of *λέγει Ἰησοῦς* in 1 suggested by Zahn. Are we to follow him in his next inference that the formula *λέγει Ἰησοῦς* has been taken over without alteration by the editor from his source, which was therefore presumably a Gospel narrative? To this we should answer by a decided negative. As Dr. Lock remarks (*Two Lectures*, p. 18), 'it is not likely that *λέγει* should have occurred *uniformly* in a narrative,' a criticism which is strengthened by the recurrence in 654 of at least three more instances of *λέγει Ἰησοῦς* (ll. 9, 27, and 36), and by the comparison of 654. 32 sqq. and 655. 17-23, which suggests that if the former had been taken directly from a Gospel like that to which the latter belonged, *Ἰησοῦς* would have been omitted. It is, we think, much more probable that the formula *λέγει Ἰησοῦς* is due to the editor of the collection than to his sources, whatever they were. And though there is now no longer any particular reason for interpreting the tense of *λέγει* as more than a historic present, a secondary meaning is not excluded, and may be present in l. 36 just as much as in the other instances where there is no context. We should be inclined to paraphrase *λέγει Ἰησοῦς* as 'This is one of those *λόγοι* of Jesus to which I referred in the introduction,' and to explain the uniform repetition of it as marking off the several *λόγοι* from each other, and giving greater impressiveness to the whole. The fact that the editor used the aorist and not the historic present in his introduction suggests that by his employment of the present tense *λέγει* throughout the Sayings he intended to produce a slightly different effect from that which would have been caused by *ἔλεγε* or *εἶπεν*. But

this new light shed upon the formula λέγει Ἰησοῦς does not bring with it any new reason for regarding the Sayings as extracts from a narrative Gospel.

A much more important factor in deciding whether the Sayings are extracts or not is the introduction, which though it may be a later addition, and though the reference to St. Thomas may be merely a bold invention of the editor, is there, and its presence has to be accounted for. So far from stating that the Sayings are extracts from any work, the editor asserts that they are a collection of λόγοι, a circumstance which seems to provide an adequate explanation not only of the disconnected character of the Sayings in part of the collection, but of the repetition of the formula λέγει Ἰησοῦς before each one. It is now clear that 654 was meant by the editor to be regarded as an independent literary work, complete in itself; and though it is not necessary to accept it as such, those who wish to maintain that the collection is something quite different from what it purports to be must be prepared to explain how the introduction comes to be there. Hence we think that no theory of the origin of the Sayings as a whole is to be considered satisfactory unless it at the same time provides a reasonable explanation of the fact that some one not later than the middle of the second century published the Sayings as specially connected with St. Thomas (and perhaps another disciple), and that the collection attained sufficient importance for it to be read, and presumably accepted as genuine, in the chief towns of Upper Egypt in the century following. This contention, if it be generally acknowledged, will be an important criterion in discussing the merits of the different theories.

We begin therefore with a brief enumeration of the different Gospels to which 1 has been referred, premising that all theories in favour of extracts have now to face at the outset a difficult, and to some of them, we think, an insurmountable obstacle in the shape of the introduction in 654. Of these the most generally accepted is probably that maintained with all his usual brilliant powers of analysis by Harnack (*Die jüngst entdeckten Sprüche Jesu*), that 1 consisted of extracts from the Gospel according to the Egyptians. The question was, however, complicated by the extremely divergent views held concerning that Gospel, to which only one passage of any length can be assigned with certainty. At one extreme stands Harnack's view that this with the Gospel according to the Hebrews was the Gospel first used in Egypt, that it was not really heretical, and that it is the source of the non-canonical Sayings found in the Second Epistle of Clement. At the other extreme is the view of Resch (*Agrapha*, pp. 316-9), that the Gospel according to the Egyptians was not used by the author of the Second Epistle of Clement, and that it was thoroughly Gnostic and Encratite, as Origen and Epiphanius declared; the view of Zahn (*Gesch. d. NT. Kan.* ii. pp. 628 sqq.), which seems to us the most reasonable, stands midway between, assigning to this Gospel neither the importance given to it by Harnack nor the heretical character ascribed to it by Resch, with whom, however, Zahn is in accord in considering that it was not used by the author of II Clem. Disagreeing as we do with Harnack's view of the Gospel according to the Egyptians, we have never been able to regard his explanation of 1 as satisfactory, and the insecurity of his hypothesis is illustrated by the attempt of Mr. Badham (*Athenaeum*, Aug. 7, 1897), from a point of view not far from that of Resch, to reach the same conclusion. The evidence of 654 provides fresh objections to the theory. There is no direct point of contact between 654 and the Gospel according to the Egyptians, and where one of the uncanonical Sayings happens to be known, it occurs not in this Gospel but in that according to the Hebrews. There is, indeed, more to be said for regarding 654 as extracts from the latter Gospel, as was suggested in the case of 1 by Batiffol (*Revue Biblique*, 1897, p. 515) and Davidson (*Internat. Journ. of Ethics*, Oct. 1897), than from the Gospel according to the Egyptians. In their divergence from the Canonical Gospels, the striking character of much of the



new matter, the Hebraic parallelisms of expression, the Sayings are quite in keeping with the style of the most venerable and important of all the uncanonical Gospels, which is known to have been written originally in Hebrew, and which is now generally regarded as independent of the four Canonical Gospels. To these points of connexion has now to be added the far more solid piece of evidence afforded by the 1st Saying in 654. There remain indeed the objections (cf. *Sayings of our Lord*, p. 17) that the Gospel according to the Hebrews would be expected to show greater resemblance to St. Matthew than we find in 1 and 654, which is even further away from St. Matthew's Gospel than 1, and secondly that the Johannine colouring traceable in the new Sayings is foreign to the extant fragments of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which seems to have been quite parallel to the Synoptists. But on the other hand, if Harnack is right (*Gesch. d. Altchrist. Lit.* ii. pp. 646-8) in supposing that the resemblance of this Gospel to St. Luke's was not much less marked than its resemblance to St. Matthew's, the points of contact between the Sayings and St. Luke, which are at least as strong as these with St. Matthew, constitute no great difficulty. And it is quite possible that the Gospel according to the Hebrews had a mystical side which is revealed to us occasionally (as e.g. in the curious passage in which Jesus speaks of his 'mother, the Holy Ghost,' and in the Saying found also in 654), but which owing to the paucity of references has hitherto been underestimated. A far graver and in fact almost fatal objection, however, to regarding the Sayings as extracts culled from either the Gospel according to the Hebrews or the Gospel according to the Egyptians is the irreconcilability of such a view with the introduction of 654. It is very difficult to believe that an editor would have had the boldness to issue extracts from such widely known works as an independent collection of Sayings claiming the authority of Thomas and perhaps another disciple. Even if we supply *Martha* at the end of 654. 2 and suppose that the mention of Thomas is of quite secondary importance, it is very hard to supply a reasonable motive for issuing a series of extracts from the Gospel according to the Hebrews with such a preface as we find in 654, and to account for the popularity of these supposed extracts in the century following their publication. We are therefore on the whole opposed to the view, attractive though it undoubtedly is, that the Sayings are all directly derived from the Gospel according to the Hebrews. But that there is a connexion between them is certain, and it is significant that the *Stromateis* of Clement of Alexandria, in which work Mayor (*ap. Rendel Harris, Contemp. Rev.* 1897, pp. 344-5) has with much probability detected references to the 2nd Logion (cf. the parallels adduced on p. 7), are also the source of the quotation from the Gospel according to the Hebrews which is closely parallel to the 1st Saying. It is not at all unlikely that the 2nd Logion ('Except ye fast') also presented a strong similarity to a passage in the same Gospel.

The obstacle which prevents us from accepting the Gospel according to the Hebrews as the source of all the Sayings, in spite of the evidence in favour of such a view, applies with equal force to Zahn's hypothesis that they were derived from the Gospel of the Ebionites or Gospel of the Twelve Apostles, which is open to grave objections on other grounds. The instances adduced by Zahn to show the use of collections of extracts in the second century, (1) a series of *ἐκλογαί* from the Old Testament composed by Melito of Sardis, and (2) a list of heretical passages from the Gospel of Peter appended to a letter by Serapion, were singularly inapt even as regards 1 (cf. Sanday, *Two Lectures*, p. 45, note), and still less bear any relation to 654. Even admitting for the sake of argument Zahn's theory of the relation of the Gospel of the Ebionites to the Gospel according to the Hebrews (on which Harnack throws doubts, *op. cit.* ii. p. 626), and his proposed date for 1, about A.D. 170 (which has generally been regarded as too late), and for the Gospel

of the Ebionites (which if we follow Harnack, *op. cit.* ii. p. 631, is too early), the character of the extant fragments of this thoroughly Gnostic Jewish-Christian Gospel is very different from that of 1 and 654, to say nothing of the other arguments against Zahn's theory brought by Dr. Sanday in *Two Lectures*, p. 46.

The views which we have discussed so far have, whether satisfactory or not on other grounds, all been confronted by the initial difficulty of the introduction. Let us now examine those Gospels ascribed to disciples whose names either occur or may with reasonable probability be supposed to have occurred in ll. 2-3. It is obvious that the introduction would suit a series of extracts from e.g. the Gospel of Thomas much better than one from the Gospel according to the Hebrews. The Gospel of Thomas is known to have existed in more than one form, namely as an account of Jesus' childhood which is extant in several late recensions of varying length, and as an earlier Gospel condemned by Hippolytus in the following passage (*Refut.* v. 7) οὐ μόνον δ' αὐτῶν ἐπιμαρτυρεῖν φασὶ (sc. the Naassenes) τῷ λόγῳ τὰ Ἀσσυρίων μυστήρια ἀλλὰ καὶ Φρυγῶν περὶ τὴν τῶν γεγονότων καὶ γινομένων καὶ ἔσομένων ἔτι μακαρίαν κρυβομένην ὁμοῦ καὶ φανερομένην φύσιν ἥνπερ φησὶ τὴν ἐντὸς ἀνθρώπου βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν ζητουμένην, περὶ ἧς διαρρήδην ἐν τῷ κατὰ Θωμᾶν ἐπιγεγραφομένῳ εὐαγγελίῳ παραδιδάσκει λέγοντες οὕτως· ἐμὲ δὲ ζητῶν εὕρήσει ἐν παιδίοις ἀπὸ ἐτῶν ἑπτὰ· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῳ αἰῶνι κρυβόμενος φανεροῦμαι. Here we have two remarkable points of contact with 654, the mention of Thomas coupled with the ἐντὸς ἀνθρώπου βασιλεία (cf. the 2nd Saying).

The parallels between 1 and one of the later forms of the Thomas Gospel have been worked out with great ingenuity and elaboration by Dr. Taylor on pp. 90-8 of *The Oxyrhynchus Logia and the Apocryphal Gospels*. There is much to be said for his view that the extant Gospel of Thomas contains some traces of 1, and the probability would be increased if 1, which Dr. Taylor was inclined to regard as extracts from the Gospel according to the Egyptians, be supposed to be derived from the earlier Gospel of Thomas. 654 does not seem to contain any clear points of connexion with the later Gospel of Thomas, but this is compensated for by the remarkable parallel from Hippolytus quoted above. It is moreover noteworthy, as Mr. Badham remarks, that the Acts of Thomas, which may well have been partly built upon the Gospel, exhibit a knowledge of that Saying which occurs both in the Gospel according to the Hebrews and in 654, and that, as Prof. Lake informs us, an Athos MS. (*Studia Biblica*, v. 2, p. 173) asserts that the περικοπή of Christ and the woman taken in adultery (which has found its way from the Gospel according to the Hebrews into St. John's Gospel) occurred in the Gospel of Thomas. But there are serious objections to regarding 1 and 654 as extracts from that Gospel. In the first place though it is possible that Thomas is the only disciple mentioned in the introduction, it is equally possible that he stood second, and in that case the Gospel from which the Sayings may have been extracted is more likely to have been one which went under the name of the person who stood first; though indeed, if there were two disciples mentioned in the introduction, it is not very satisfactory to derive the Sayings from any Gospel which went under the name of only one. A much greater difficulty arises from the divergence of the Sayings from what little is known about the earlier Gospel of Thomas. The saying quoted by Hippolytus is widely removed in character from those in 1 and 654, and it is significant that, though the doctrine of aeons seems to be known to the author of the Gospel of Thomas, 654 employs in l. 24 the neutral word τόπος in a passage in which αἰών, as is shown by the parallel from the Apocalypse of Peter, would have been highly appropriate, if the composer of the Sayings had known of or been influenced by that doctrine. The Gospel of Thomas, which Harnack thinks was known to Irenaeus, is indeed placed before A.D. 180, but from



the quotation in Hippolytus, coupled with the form of the Gospel in later times and the scanty evidence from other sources, it has been considered to have been mainly at any rate a Gospel of the childhood and of an advanced Gnostic character. If the Sayings are to be derived from it, the current view of the Gospel of Thomas must be entirely changed; and it is very doubtful whether this can be done except by postulating the existence of an original Thomas Gospel behind that condemned by Hippolytus. This would lead us into a region of pure conjecture into which we are unwilling to enter, at any rate until other less hazardous roads to a solution are closed. That there is a connexion between the earlier Gospel of Thomas and the Sayings is extremely likely, but this can be better explained by supposing that the Sayings influenced the Gospel than by the hypothesis that the Gospel is the source of the Sayings.

The Gospel of Philip, which is assigned by Zahn to the beginning of the second century, by Harnack to the second century or first half of the third, would, even if it were certain that *Φιλίππῳ* occurred in 654. 2, be an unsuitable source for the Sayings. The extract quoted from it by Epiphanius shows much more highly developed ascetic and Gnostic tendencies than can be found in 1 and 654.

The only other Apocryphal Gospels which seem to be worth consideration are the works connected with Matthias, of which there are three; (1) the *παραδόσεις* of Matthias, a few extracts from which are cited by Clement of Alexandria, (2) a Gospel according to Matthias mentioned by Origen, and (3) certain *λόγοι ἀπόκρυφοι* in use among the Basilidians which are thus described by Hippolytus (*Refut.* vii. 20) *Βασιλείδης τοίνυν καὶ Ἰσίδωρος . . . φασὶν εἰρηκέναι Μαθθίαν αὐτοῖς λόγους ἀποκρύφους, οὓς ἤκουσε παρὰ τοῦ σωτῆρος κατ' ἰδίαν διδασθεῖς*. The nature of these three works and their relation to each other are very uncertain. Zahn considers all three to be identical; Harnack, who at first (*op. cit.* i. p. 18) was disposed to accept the identity of (1) and (2), subsequently (*op. cit.* ii. p. 597) reverts to the view that these two at any rate were distinct. The suggestion that the *παραδόσεις* of Matthias might be the source of 1 was thrown out by Dr. James (*Contemp. Rev.* Aug. 1897), only to be immediately rejected on the ground of the dissimilarity of form between 1 and the extant fragments of the *παραδόσεις*, which seem to have been a work of a mainly homiletic character. The *παραδόσεις* are now altogether excluded from the likely sources of the Sayings owing to the fact that Clement quotes an extract from them, *θαύμασον τὰ παρόντα*, side by side with the very citation from the Gospel according to the Hebrews which is parallel to the 1st Saying. Of the Gospel according to Matthias practically nothing is known except its name; the hypothesis that it is the source of the Sayings is therefore incapable of proof or disproof, but being based on pure conjecture has nothing to oppose to the antecedent improbability (cf. p. 16) that the Sayings are something quite different from what they profess to be. There remain the *λόγοι ἀπόκρυφοι* mentioned by Hippolytus. The occurrence of the word *λόγοι* suggests a connexion with the Sayings, but this cannot easily be carried much further. The *λόγοι ἀπόκρυφοι* were, according to Hippolytus, revealed to Matthias *κατ' ἰδίαν*, whereas if Matthias occurred at all in the introduction, it was in conjunction with Thomas. The particular Gnostic ontological speculations which according to Hippolytus were found in these *λόγοι ἀπόκρυφοι* belong to another plane of thought from that found in the Sayings; but the question is complicated by the confused and untrustworthy character of Hippolytus' discussion of the Basilidians, vii. 20 being among the most suspicious passages. And even if there were a connexion between these *λόγοι ἀπόκρυφοι* of Matthias and the Sayings, this would bring us no nearer to a proof that the Sayings were extracts from a narrative Gospel rather than a collection of Sayings as such. There is moreover another objection to connecting the Sayings with any work professedly under the name of Matthias, because

such a view would necessarily entail the supposition that the Sayings are post-resurrectional; and this for the reasons given on pp. 12-3 we do not think justifiable.

Our conclusion, therefore, is that no one of the known uncanonical Gospels is a suitable source for the Sayings as a whole. Shall we regard them as a series of extracts from several of these Gospels, as was suggested with respect to **1** by Dr. James? So long as the discussion was confined to **1**, such an explanation from its vagueness was almost beyond the reach of criticism. The recovery of **654** alters the situation. On the one hand the occurrence of a Saying, which is known to have been also found in the Gospel according to the Hebrews, side by side with other Sayings which it is difficult to ascribe to the same source, rather favours the theory of an eclectic series derived from different Gospels. But the introduction connecting the Sayings with particular disciples is not very suitable for such a collection which *ex hypothesi* is of an altogether miscellaneous character; and it would be difficult for any one to maintain that the Sayings are derived from several Apocryphal Gospels and at the same time in face of the mention of Thomas to deny that one of the chief elements was the Gospel of Thomas. But the inclusion of the Gospel of Thomas among the sources of the Sayings to a large extent involves the hypothesis of extracts from several Gospels in the difficulties which are discussed on pp. 18-9.

The result of an examination in the light of **654** of the various theories that the immediate source of **1** was one or more of the known non-canonical Gospels confirms us in the view that the solution does not lie in that direction, and that the Sayings are much more likely to be a source utilized in one or more of the uncanonical Gospels, than vice versa. The probability of the general explanation of **1** which we suggested in 1897 and which has been supported, amongst others, by Drs. Swete, Rendel Harris, Sanday, Lock, and Heinrici, that it was part of a collection of Sayings as such, is largely increased by the discovery of **654**, with its introduction to the whole collection stating that it was a collection of *λόγοι*, which was obviously intended to stand as an independent literary work. In fact we doubt if theories of extracts are any longer justifiable; and in any case such explanations will henceforth be placed at the initial disadvantage of starting with an assumption which is distinctly contradicted by the introduction of **654**. It is of course possible to explain away this introduction, but unless very strong reasons can be adduced for doing so, the simpler and far safer course is to accept the editor's statement that **654**, to which, as we have said, **1** is closely allied, is a collection of *λόγοι* 'Ιησοῦ.

The opinions of those critics who agreed with our general explanation of **1** as against the various theories of extracts may be divided into two classes: (1) those who regarded **1** as a collection of Sayings independent of the Gospels and belonging to the first century, and who therefore were disposed to admit to a greater or less extent and with much varying degrees of confidence the presence of genuine elements in the new matter (Drs. Swete, Rendel Harris, Lock, and Heinrici); (2) those who, like Dr. Sanday, regarded the new Sayings in **1** as the product of the early second century, not directly dependent on the Canonical Gospels, but having 'their origin under conditions of thought which these Gospels had created' (Sanday, *op. cit.* p. 41), a view which necessarily carries with it the rejection of the new matter. It remains to ask how far **654** helps to decide the points at issue in favour of either side.

With regard to the relation of **654** to the Canonical Gospels, the proportion of new and old matter is about the same as in **1**, and the parallels to the Canonical Gospels in **654** exhibit the same freedom of treatment, which can be explained either as implying independence of the Canonical Gospels, or as the liberties taken by an early redactor. The introduction in **654** contains a clearer parallel to St. John's Gospel than anything



to be found in **1**; but even if it be conceded (and there is good reason for not conceding it; cf. p. 111) that the introduction implied a knowledge of St. John's Gospel, and was therefore probably composed in the second century, the Sayings themselves can (and, as we shall show, do) contain at any rate some elements which are not derived from the Canonical Gospels, and go back to the first century. So far as the evidence of **654** goes, there is nothing to cause any one to renounce opinions which he may have formed concerning the relation of **1** to the Canonical Gospels. No one who feels certain on this point with regard to the one, is likely to be convinced of the incorrectness of his view by the other.

Secondly, with regard to the new matter in **654**, the uncertainties attaching to the restoration and meaning of most of the 2nd, the earlier part of the 3rd, and all the 5th Saying, unfortunately prevent them from being of much use for purposes of critical analysis. Unless by the aid of new parallels the satisfactory restoration of these three Sayings can be carried beyond the point which we have been able to reach, their remains hardly provide a firm basis for estimating their individual value, still less that of the collection as a whole, each Saying of which has a right to consideration on its own merits. Only with regard to the 1st Saying are we on sure ground. Concerning this striking *Agraphon* the most diverse opinions have been held. Resch, a usually indulgent critic of the uncanonical Sayings ascribed to our Lord, rejects it as spurious; Ropes on the other hand, though far more exacting, is inclined to accept it as genuine, but on account of the absence of widely attested authority for it does not put it in his highest class of genuine Sayings which includes 'It is more blessed to give than to receive.' The judgement of Ropes upon *Agrapha* has generally been regarded as far sounder than that of Resch; and much of Resch's unfavourable criticism of this Saying is beside the mark (Harnack now regards it as primary; cf. p. 5), while the occurrence of the Saying in **654** is a new argument for its authority. But whatever view be taken of its authenticity, and however the connexion between **654** and the Gospel according to the Hebrews is to be explained, the 1st Saying in **654** establishes one important fact. Dr. Sanday may be right in regarding A.D. 100 as the *terminus a quo* for the composition of **1**, and the same *terminus a quo* can of course be assigned to **654** in the sense that the Sayings were not put together and the introduction not written before that date. But, if we may accept the agreement of the leading theologians that the Gospel of the Hebrews was written in the first century, it is impossible any longer to deny that **654** and therefore, as we maintain, **1**, contain some non-canonical elements which directly or indirectly go back to the first century; and the existence of first century elements in one case certainly increases the probability of their presence in others. In this respect, therefore, **654** provides a remarkable confirmation of the views of those critics who were prepared to allow a first century date for **1**.

Are we then, adapting to **654** Dr. Sanday's view of **1** with the fewest possible modifications, to regard the whole collection as a free compilation in the early part of the second century, by an Alexandrian Jewish-Christian, of Sayings ultimately derived from the Canonical Gospels, and very likely the Gospels according to the Hebrews and Thomas, and perhaps others as well; and shall we dismiss the new elements, except the 1st Saying in **654**, as the spurious accretions of an age of philosophic speculation, and surroundings of dubious orthodoxy? Even so the two papyri are of great interest as revealing a hitherto unknown development of primitive belief upon the nature of Christ's teaching, and supplying new and valuable evidence for determining the relationship of the uncanonical Gospels to the main current of orthodox Christianity. Or are we rather to consider **1** and **654** to be fragments of an early collection of our Lord's Sayings in a form which has

been influenced to some extent by the thought and literature of the apostolic and post-apostolic age, and which may well itself have influenced the Gospel of Thomas and perhaps others of the heretical Gospels, but which is ultimately connected in a large measure with a first-hand source other than that of any of the Canonical Gospels? Some such view has been maintained by scholars of eminence, e.g. Heinrici and Rendel Harris, with regard to **1**; and if the claim made by the editor of the collection in his introduction, that his source was St. Thomas and perhaps another disciple, amounts to but little more, the internal evidence of **654** provides no obvious reason why we should concede him much less; while the occurrence of one uncanonical Saying, which is already known to be of extreme antiquity and has been accepted as substantially genuine by several critics, lends considerable support to the others which rest on the evidence of **654** and **1** alone.

That is as far as we are prepared to go; for a really weighty and perfectly unbiassed estimate of the ultimate value of any new discovery, resort must be made to some other quarter than the discoverers. We conclude by pointing out that, if the view with regard to **1** and **654** which we have just indicated is on the right lines, the analogy of this collection has an obvious bearing on the question of the sources of the Synoptic Gospels, and that the mystical and speculative element in the early records of Christ's Sayings which found its highest and most widely accepted expression in St. John's Gospel, may well have been much more general and less peculiarly Johannine than has hitherto been taken for granted.

#### 655. FRAGMENT OF A LOST GOSPEL.

Fr. (*b*) 8.2 × 8.3 cm.

PLATE II.

Eight fragments of a papyrus in roll form containing an uncanonical Gospel, the largest (*b*) comprising parts of the middles of two narrow columns. None of the other fragments actually joins (*b*), but it is practically certain that the relation to it of Frs. (*a*) and (*c*), which come from the tops of columns, is as indicated in the Plate. Frs. (*d*) and (*e*), both of which have a margin below the writing, probably belong to the bottom of the same two columns which are partly preserved in (*b*); but how much is lost in the interval is uncertain. Since the upper portion of Col. i admits of a sure restoration of the majority of the lacunae, the first 23 lines are nearly complete; but the remains of the second column are for the most part too slight for the sense to be recovered. The handwriting is a small uncial of the common sloping oval type, which in most cases belongs to the third century, among securely dated examples being **23** (P. Oxy. I. Plate vi), **223** (P. Oxy. II. Plate i), **420** (P. Oxy. III. Plate vi), P. Amh. II. 12 (Plate iii). But this kind of hand is found in the second century, e.g. **26** (P. Oxy. I. Plate vii), **447** (P. Oxy. III. Plate vi), and continued in the fourth; for late third or fourth century examples see P. Amh. I. 3 (*b*) (Part II. Plate xxv) and **404** (P. Oxy. III. Plate iv). **655** is a well-written specimen,



suggesting, on the whole, the earlier rather than the later period during which this hand was in vogue, and though we should not assign it to the second century, it is not likely to have been written later than A.D. 250. Lines 1-16 ὑμῶν give the conclusion of a speech of Jesus which is parallel to several sentences in the Sermon on the Mount. Then follows (ll. 17-23) an account of a question put to Him by the disciples and of the answer. This, the most important part of the papyrus, is new, but bears an interesting resemblance to a known quotation from the Gospel according to the Egyptians; cf. note *ad loc.* A passage in Col. ii seems to be parallel to Luke xi. 52. On the general questions concerning the nature and origin of the Gospel to which the fragment belonged see pp. 27-8. In ll. 7-11 of the text the division between Frs. (a) and (b) is indicated by double vertical lines ||. No stops, breathings, or accents are used, but a wedge-shaped sign for filling up short lines occurs in l. 27 and a correction in a cursive hand in l. 25. An interchange of *ει* and *η* causes the form *ειλικιαν* in l. 14, and l. 13 requires some correction.

The key to the general restoration of ll. 1-3 was supplied by Mr. Badham, that to ll. 41-6 by Dr. Bartlet.

Col. i.	Col. ii.
(a) [. . .]ΠΟ ΠΡΩΙ Ε[. . . . .]	(c) Θ
[. . .]Ε ΑΦ ΕCΠ[. . . . .]	30 ΛΕ[
[. . .]ΡΩΙ ΜΗΤΕ [. . . . .]	Ο[
[. . . . .]ΜΩΝ ΤΙ ΦΑ[	ΤΑ[
5 [. . . . .] ΤΗ CΤ[	ΓΥ[
[. . . . .] ΤΙ ΕΝΔΥ[	ΚΑ[
(b) [. . .]ΘΕ[  . . .]ΛΩ ΚΡΕ[  .	35 Ν . [
[. . .]ΕC .   [. . .] ΤΩΝ [. . .]	ΚΑ[
ΝΩΝ ΑΤΙ  [. . .]ΥΞΑ[	ΗΜ[
10 ΝΕΙ ΟΥΔΕ Ν  [. . .]Ε[ . [	C[
ΕΝ ΕΧΟΝΤ  [. . .]ΝΑ[	[
ΜΑ ΤΙ ΕΝ[. . .] ΚΑΙ	40 [
ΥΜΕΙC ΤΙC ΑΝ ΠΡΟCΘΗ	(b) ΕΛ[
ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΙΛΙΚΙΑΝ	ΤΗC [
15 ΥΜΩΝ ΑΥΤΟ[. . .]ΩCΕΙ	ΚΡΥΨ[
ΥΜΕΙΝ ΤΟ ΕΝΔΥΜΑ Υ	ΕΙCΗΛ[
ΜΩΝ ΛΕΓΟΥCΙΝ ΑΥ	45 ΕΙCΕΡ[
ΤΩ ΟΙ ΜΑΘΗΤΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΥ	ΚΑΝ[
ΠΟΤΕ ΗΜΕΙΝ ΕΜΦΑ	ΔΕ ΓΕΙ[
20 ΝΗC ΕCΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΤΕ	ΜΟΙΩ[
CΕ ΟΨΟΜΕΘΑ ΛΕΓΕΙ	ΚΕΡΑΙ[

ΟΤΑΝ ΕΚΔΥΧΘΕ ΚΑΙ  
ΜΗ ΑΙΣΧΥΝΘΗΤΕ

50 ΡΑ[

. . . . .

(d)

. . . . .

]ΤΙΝ

(e)

. . .

ΚΟ[

25

<sup>Ε</sup>  
]ΩΤΙΝΩ

]ΟCΜΩ

]Η

]CΤΙΝ

(f)

. . . . .

]ΚΑ[

. . .

(g)

. . .

]Κ . [

]ΑΙ[

. . .

(h)

. . .

]Ε[

. . .

[. . ἄ]πὸ πρῶτῃ ἕως ὀψέ  
[μήτ]ε ἀφ' ἐσπέρας  
[ἕως π]ρῶτῃ μήτε [τῇ  
[τροφῇ ὑ]μῶν τί φά-  
5 [γῆτε μήτε] τῇ στ[ο-  
[λῇ ὑ]μῶν] τί ἐνδύ-  
[ση]σθε. [πολ]λῶ κρείσ-  
[σον]ές [έστε] τῶν [κρί-  
νων ἅτ]ι[να α]ὐξά-  
10 νει οὐδὲ ν[ήθ]ει . [ .  
ἐν ἔχοντ[ες ἔ]νδ[υ-  
μα τί ἐν[. . .] καὶ

ὑμεῖς; τίς ἂν προσθ(εῖ)η  
ἐπὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν  
15 ὑμῶν; αὐτὸ[ς δ]ώσει  
ὑμῖν τὸ ἔνδυμα ὑ-  
μῶν. λέγουσιν αὐ-  
τῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ·  
πότε ἡμῖν ἐμφα-  
20 νῆς ἔσει καὶ πότε  
σε ὀψόμεθα; λέγει·  
ὅταν ἐκδύσησθε καὶ  
μὴ αἰσχυνθῆτε,  
. . . . .

41 ἔλ[εγε· τὴν κλείδα

τῆς [γνώσεως ἐ-

κρύψ[ατε· αὐτοὶ οὐκ

εἰσῆλ[θατε, καὶ τοῖς

45 εἰσερ[χομένοις οὐ-

κ ἀν[εφύξατε . . . .

. . . . .



1-23. '(Take no thought) from morning until even nor from evening until morning, either for your food what ye shall eat or for your raiment what ye shall put on. Ye are far better than the lilies which grow but spin not. Having one garment, what do ye (lack?) . . . Who could add to your stature? He himself will give you your garment. His disciples say unto him, When wilt thou be manifest to us, and when shall we see thee? He saith, When ye shall be stripped and not be ashamed . . .'

41-6. '. . . He said, The key of knowledge ye hid; ye entered not in yourselves and to them that were entering in ye opened not.'

1-7. Cf. Matt. vi. 25 *μὴ μεριμνᾶτε τῇ ψυχῇ ὑμῶν τί φάγητε μηδὲ τῷ σώματι ὑμῶν τί ἐνδύσθησθε. οὐχὶ ἡ ψυχὴ πλεῖον ἐστὶ τῆς τροφῆς καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἐνδύματος*; Luke xii. 22-3 *μὴ μεριμνᾶτε τῇ ψυχῇ τί φάγητε μηδὲ τῷ σώματι τί ἐνδύσθησθε. ἡ γὰρ ψυχὴ πλεῖον ἐστὶν τῆς τροφῆς καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἐνδύματος*. The papyrus probably had *μὴ μεριμνᾶτε* at the beginning of the sentence but differs (1) by the addition of *ἀπὸ πρωὶ . . . ἕως πρωί*, (2) by the use of a different word for *σῶμα* and probably for *ψυχή*, though it is possible that *τῷ σώματι* or *τῇ ψυχῇ* preceded *ἀπὸ πρωί* in l. 1, (3) by the omission of the second half of the Saying as recorded in the Gospels. In ll. 1-2 there is not room for *ἐ[σπέ]ρας μήτ[ε]*. *στ[ολή]* in ll. 5-6 is not quite the word that would be expected, being used in the New Testament for grand 'robes' rather than a plain garment, but if the division *τη στ[ολή]* is correct *στολή* cannot be avoided, and with the reading *της τ[ολή]* it is difficult to find any suitable word; cf. also e.g. 839 *ἡλθέ μοι γυμνὸς . . . ἡγόρασα αὐτῷ στολήν*.

7-13. Cf. Matt. vi. 28 *καὶ περὶ ἐνδύματος τί μεριμνᾶτε; καταμάθετε τὰ κρίνα τοῦ ἀγροῦ πῶς αὐξάνουσιν· οὐ κοπιῶσιν οὐδὲ νήθουσιν· λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐδὲ Σολομὼν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ περιεβάλετο ὡς ἐν τούτων*, Luke xii. 27 *κατανοήσατε τὰ κρίνα πῶς αὐξάνει· οὐ κοπιᾷ οὐδὲ νήθει· λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν οὐδὲ κ.τ.λ.* and Matt. vi. 26 *οὐχ ὑμεῖς μᾶλλον διαφέρετε αὐτῶν (sc. τῶν πετεινῶν)*; Luke xii. 24 *πόσῳ μᾶλλον ὑμεῖς διαφέρετε τῶν πετεινῶν*. The corresponding passage in the papyrus is not only much shorter, but varies considerably, though to what extent is not quite clear owing to the uncertainty attaching to the restoration of ll. 10-2. Our reasons for placing Fr. (a) in the particular relation to Fr. (δ) indicated on Plate II are the facts (1) that Fr. (a) is from the top of a column which is presumably, judging by the general appearance and lacunae in Fr. (a), Col. i of Fr. (δ); (2) that though there is nothing in the external appearance of Fr. (a) to show that it contains any actual ends of lines, the connexion of ll. 8-9 and 9-10 which results from our proposed combination of the two fragments, *τῶν [κρί]νων* and *α[ὐ]ξάνει*, is so suitable to the context that it is unlikely to be fortuitous. The connexion of ll. 10-11 and 11-2 is, however, more difficult. With the readings and punctuation which we have adopted *εν* in l. 12 suggests nothing but *ἐν[δείτε]*, which does not suit *τί*, and there are many points of uncertainty. At the end of l. 10 the letter before *ι* is more like *Γ*, *C*, or *T* than *Ε*, so that *οὐδὲ ν[ήθ]ει* (cf. Luke xii. 27) is not very satisfactory. *MATION* can be read in l. 12, and would in the context be expected to be the termination of a word meaning 'garment'; but with the reading *[ι]μάτιον* it is hard to explain the vestiges of the two letters on l. 11 of Fr. (a), which suit respectively a straight letter such as *H*, *I*, *M* or *N* and *Δ* or, less probably, *A* or *Λ*. *ἐνδυμάτιον*, a rare word not found in the N. T., but not inappropriate here, is possible; but *ἐν ἔχοντ[ες ἐ]νδ[υ]μάτιόν [έστε]* is unlikely. It is also possible to connect *καὶ ὑμεῖς* with *τίς* instead of with the preceding words, but this does not help towards making the restoration of ll. 10-2 easier. These difficulties could be avoided by supposing that Fr. (a) is to be placed much higher up in relation to Fr. (δ), but this involves the sacrifice of any direct connexion between Frs. (a) and (δ), and ll. 8-9 and 9-10 afford very strong grounds for our proposed combination of the two fragments.

13-5. Cf. Matt. vi. 27 *τίς δὲ ἐξ ὑμῶν μεριμνῶν δύναται προσθεῖναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτοῦ πῆχυν*

ἐνα; , and Luke xii. 25 τίς δὲ ἐξ ὑμῶν μεριμνῶν δύναται ἐπὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτοῦ προσθεῖναι πῆχυν; The papyrus version is somewhat shorter, omitting μεριμνῶν and πῆχυν. The position in which this Saying is found in the papyrus is also slightly different from that in the Gospels, where it immediately precedes instead of following the verse about the κρίνα. In l. 13 προσθεῖ(η) could be read in place of προσθ(ει)η: there does not seem to be room for προσθει[η].

15-6. Cf. Matt. vi. 31-3 μὴ οὖν μεριμνήσητε λέγοντες τί φάγωμεν ἢ τί πίωμεν ἢ τί περιβαλώμεθα . . . οἶδεν γὰρ ὁ πατήρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος ὅτι χρήζετε τούτων ἀπάντων. ζητεῖτε δὲ πρῶτον τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ καὶ ταῦτα πάντα προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν, and Luke xii. 29-31, which is nearly identical and proceeds μὴ φοβοῦ τὸ μικρὸν ποίμνιον ὅτι εὐδόκησεν ὁ πατήρ ὑμῶν δοῦναι ὑμῖν τὴν βασιλείαν. The papyrus has the corresponding idea but expressed with extreme conciseness. αὐτὸ[ς δ]ώσει, unless δώσει is an error for δώσω, raises a difficulty, for we should expect ὁ πατήρ or ὁ θεός. Apparently αὐτός refers back to πατήρ or θεός in the column preceding, or the author of the Gospel may have here incorporated from some source a Saying without its context which would have explained αὐτός (cf. 654. 32).

17-23. For the question cf. John xiv. 19 sqq. ἔτι μικρὸν καὶ ὁ κόσμος με οὐκέτι θεωρεῖ· ὑμεῖς δὲ θεωρεῖτέ με· ὅτι ἐγὼ ζῶ καὶ ὑμεῖς ζήσετε . . . λέγει αὐτῷ Ἰούδας . . . κύριε, τί γέγονεν ὅτι ἡμῖν μέλλεις ἐμφανίζειν σεαυτὸν καὶ οὐχὶ τῷ κόσμῳ; ἀπεκρίθη . . . ἐάν τις ἀγαπᾷ με τὸν λόγον μου τηρήσει καὶ ὁ πατήρ μου ἀγαπήσει αὐτόν, καὶ πρὸς αὐτόν ἐλευσόμεθα. The answer ascribed in the papyrus to Jesus bears a striking resemblance to the answer made to a similar question in a passage of the Gospel according to the Egyptians which is referred to several times by Clement of Alexandria, and which is reconstructed by Harnack (*Chronol.* i. p. 13) thus:—τῇ Σαλώμῃ πυνθανομένη μέχρι τότε θάνατος ἰσχύσει εἶπεν ὁ κύριος· μέχρις ἂν ὑμεῖς αἱ γυναῖκες τίκτετε. ἦλθον γὰρ καταλύσαι τὰ ἔργα τῆς θηλείας. καὶ ἡ Σαλώμη ἔφη αὐτῷ· καλῶς οὖν ἐποίησα μὴ τεκοῦσα; ὁ δὲ κύριος ἡμείψατο λέγων· πᾶσαν φάγε βοτάνην, τὴν δὲ πικρίαν ἔχουσιν μὴ φάγῃς. πυνθανομένης δὲ τῆς Σαλώμης τότε γνωσθήσεται τὰ περὶ ὧν ἤρετο ἔφη ὁ κύριος· ὅταν οὖν τὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης ἔνδυμα πατήσητε καὶ ὅταν γένηται τὰ δύο ἓν, καὶ τὸ ἄρρεν μετὰ τῆς θηλείας οὔτε ἄρρεν οὔτε θήλυ. Cf. II Clem. 12. 2 ἐπερωτηθεὶς γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος ὑπὸ τινος πότε ἤξει αὐτοῦ ἡ βασιλεία εἶπεν· ὅταν ἔσται τὰ δύο ἓν, καὶ τὸ ἔξω ὡς τὸ ἔσω, καὶ τὸ ἄρρεν μετὰ τῆς θηλείας οὔτε ἄρρεν οὔτε θήλυ. Both ὅταν ἐκδύσησθε καὶ μὴ αἰσχυνοῖσθε and ὅταν τὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης ἔνδυμα πατήσητε express the same idea, a mystical reference to Gen. iii. 7, 'And they were both naked, the man and his wife, and they were not ashamed,' the meaning in either case being that Christ's kingdom on earth would not be manifested until man had returned to the state of innocence which existed before the Fall, and in which sexual ideas and relations had no place. The chief differences between the two passages are (1) the setting, the questioner being in the Gospel according to the Egyptians Salome, and in the papyrus the disciples, (2) the simpler language of the papyrus as contrasted with the more literary and elaborated phrase τὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης ἔνδυμα πατήσητε, (3) the absence in the papyrus of the Encratite tendency found in the earlier part of the quotation from the Gospel according to the Egyptians. On the relation between the two see p. 27. Whether the papyrus continued after αἰσχυνοῖσθε with something like καὶ ὅταν γένηται τὰ δύο ἓν, κ.τ.λ., is of course uncertain, but Fr. (d), which probably belongs to the bottom of this column, is concerned with something different.

25. φ]ωτεινῶ: the corrector's spelling φωτεινός is commoner than φωτινός. Perhaps this passage was parallel to Matt. vi. 22-3 (Sermon on the Mount) ἐάν ᾧ ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου ἀπλοῦς, ὅλον τὸ σῶμά σου φωτεινὸν ἔσται, κ.τ.λ.; cf. Luke xi. 34-6. But the papyrus must in any case have differed largely in its language, and κ]όσμος (?) in l. 26 suggests a Johannine colouring.

30. The Λ of ΛΕ[ projects somewhat, but since the whole column trends to the left, probably no importance is to be attached to the circumstance; cf. the initial δ in l. 47.

42-6. With the remains of these lines Bartlet well compares Luke xi. 52 οὐαὶ



ὑμῖν τοῖς νομικοῖς ὅτι ἤρατε (D and some MSS. ἐκρύψατε) τὴν κλεῖδα (D κλεῖν) τῆς γνώσεως· αὐτοὶ (D and some MSS. καὶ αὐτοὶ) οὐκ εἰσῆλθατε καὶ τοὺς εἰσερχομένους (D εἰσπορευομένους) ἐκωλύσατε, on which our restorations are based. If they are in the right direction, the papyrus agreed with D in having ἐκρύψατε in place of ἤρατε, but with the other uncials against D in having a participle of εἰσέρχεσθαι not of εἰσπορεύεσθαι, while D's reading καὶ αὐτοὶ is too long for l. 43. But the papyrus certainly differed from all the MSS. in l. 46 and probably in l. 42, where τῆς γνώσεως ε makes a line of only 11 letters, which is a little too short, so that perhaps either a different word from γνώσεως (ἀληθείας?) or a compound of ἐκρύψατε is to be supplied.

51. Below KO[ is what seems to be an accidental spot of ink rather than part of a letter.

655 seems to belong to a Gospel which was closely similar in point of form to the Synoptists. The narrator speaks in the third person, not in the first, and the portion preserved consists mainly of discourses which are to a large extent parallel to passages in Matthew and Luke, especially the latter Gospel, which alone seems to be connected with ll. 41 sqq. The papyrus version is, as a rule, shorter than the corresponding passages in the Gospels; where it is longer (ll. 1-3) the expansion does not alter the meaning in any way. The chief interest lies in the question of the disciples and its answer, both of which so closely correspond to a passage in the Gospel according to the Egyptians and the uncanonical Gospel or collection of Sayings used by the author of the Second Epistle of Clement, that the Gospel of which 655 is a fragment clearly belongs to the same sphere of thought. Does it actually belong to either of those works, which, though Harnack regards them as one and the same, are, we think, more probably to be considered distinct? In the Gospel according to the Egyptians Salome was the questioner who occasioned the remarkable Saying beginning ὅταν τὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης ἔνδυμα πατήσητε, and it is much more likely that 655 presents a different version of the same incident in another Gospel, than a repetition of the Salome question in a slightly different form in another part of the Gospel according to the Egyptians. Nor is 655 likely to be the actual Gospel which the author of II Clem. was quoting. It is unfortunate that owing to the papyrus breaking off at αἰσχυνηῖτε there is no security that ὅταν γένηται τὰ δύο ἐν, or at any rate something very similar, did not follow, and the omission in the Clement passage of a phrase corresponding to ll. 22-3 may be a mere accident. But the fact that the question in II Clem. is worded somewhat differently (πότε ἡξει ἡ βασιλεία), and is put into the mouth of τῆς instead of the disciples, as in 655, is a good reason for rejecting the hypothesis that the two works were identical.

The evidence of 655 as to its origin being thus largely of a negative character, we do not propose to discuss in detail whether it is likely to belong to any of the other known Apocryphal Gospels. There are several to which it might be assigned, but direct evidence is wanting. If the Gospel according to the Hebrews were thought of, it would be necessary to suppose that the resemblances in 655 to Matthew and Luke did not imply dependence upon them. In its relation to the Canonical Gospels 655 somewhat resembles 654, and the view that 655 was, though no doubt at least secondary, dependent not on Matthew and Luke, but upon some other document, whether behind the Synoptists or merely parallel to them, is tenable, but is less likely to commend itself to the majority of critics than the opposite hypothesis that 655. 1-16 is ultimately an abridgement of Matthew and Luke with considerable alterations. In either case the freedom with which the author of this Gospel handles the material grouped by St. Matthew and St. Luke under the Sermon

on the Mount is remarkable. The Gospel from which 655 comes is likely to have been composed in Egypt before A.D. 150, and to have stood in intimate relation to the Gospel according to the Egyptians and the uncanonical source used by the author of II Clem. Whether it was earlier or later than these is not clear. The answer to the question put by the disciples in 655 is couched in much simpler and clearer language than that of the corresponding sentence in the answer to Salome recorded in the Gospel according to the Egyptians, the point of which is liable to be missed, while the meaning of 655. 22-3 is unmistakable. But the greater directness of the allusion to Gen. iii. 7 in 655 can be explained either by supposing that the version in the Gospel according to the Egyptians is an Encratite amplification of that in 655, or, almost but not quite as well, in our opinion, by the view that the expression in 655 is a toning down of the more striking phrase *ὅταν τὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης ἔνδυμα πατήσητε*. As for the priority of 655 to the source of the uncanonical quotations in II Clem., the evidence is not sufficient to form any conclusion.

There remains the question of the likelihood of a genuine element in the story of which we now have three versions, though how far these are independent of each other is uncertain. As is usual with *Agrapha* (cf. p. 21), the most diverse opinions have been held about the two previously known passages. Zahn (*Gesch. d. NT. Kan.* ii. p. 635) defends the version in the Gospel according to the Egyptians from the charge of Encratitism, and is inclined to admit its genuineness. Resch on the other hand (*Agrapha*, p. 386), while accepting the version of Clement, vehemently attacks the other. Ropes again takes a different view, and though he thinks (*Die Sprüche Jesu*, p. 131) that *ὅταν . . . πατήσητε* is too ascetic for Jesus, is disposed to believe in a kernel of genuineness in the story. The criticisms of both Zahn and Ropes, however, are now somewhat discounted by the circumstance that they took the phrase corresponding to 655. 22-3 to mean 'when you put off the body,' i.e. 'die,' whereas the evidence of the parallel in the papyrus gives the words a slightly different turn, and brings them more nearly into line with the following sentences *ὅταν γένηται τὰ δύο ἓν, κ.τ.λ.* But Zahn would, nevertheless, seem in the light of the new parallel to be right in maintaining that the passage in the Gospel according to the Egyptians does not go much further in an Encratite direction than, e.g. Matt. xxii. 30 and Luke xx. 34-6. The occurrence of another version of the story is an important additional piece of evidence in defence of the view that it contains at least some elements of genuineness, and a special interest attaches both to the form of the Saying in 655. 22-3 on account of the clearness of its language, and to its context, in which other matter closely related to the Canonical Gospels is found in immediate proximity. All this lends fresh value to what is, on account of the far-reaching problems connected with it, one of the most important and remarkable, and, since the discovery of 655, one of the better attested, of the early *Agrapha*.

### 656. GENESIS.

Height 24.4 cm.

PLATE II (c verso).

Parts of four leaves from a papyrus codex of the book of Genesis in the Septuagint version. The MS. was carefully written in round upright uncials of good size and decidedly early appearance, having in some respects more



affinity with types of the second century than of the third. To the latter, however, the hand is in all probability to be assigned, though we should be inclined to place it in the earlier rather than the later part of the century; in any case this may rank with the original Oxyrhynchus Logia (1) and the fragments of St. Matthew's and St. John's Gospels (2, 208) as one of the most ancient Greek theological books so far known, and it has some claim to be considered the oldest of the group. Another mark of age is perhaps to be recognized in the absence of the usual contractions for *θεός*, *κύριος*, &c., but this may of course be no more than an individual peculiarity. The only abbreviation that occurs is the horizontal stroke instead of *ν*, employed to save space at the end of a long line. Both high and middle (ll. 13, 19) stops are found, but are sparingly used: more often a pause is marked by a slight blank space. A few alterations and additions have been made by a second hand, which seems also to be responsible for the numeration in the centre of the upper margin of each page.

The evidence of so early a text is of particular value for the book of Genesis, where the uncial MSS. are most weakly represented. The only first-class MS. available for comparison practically throughout the parts covered by the papyrus, namely, xiv. 21-3, xv. 5-9, xix. 32-xx. 11, xxiv. 28-47, xxvii. 32-3, 40-1, is the Codex Alexandrinus (A). The Vatican and Ambrosian codices do not begin till later in the book, the Sinaiticus (Σ) is defective except for occasional verses in the twenty-fourth chapter, the readings of D, the Cottonian MS., which for the most part survives only in a collation (=D), are unascertainable in xx. 4-11 and xxiv. 28-30, and the Bodleian Genesis (E) fails us in xxiv. The result of a collation, where possible, with these MSS., is to show that the papyrus, while seldom supporting E, does not side continuously with either Σ, A, or D, though, of course, too little of Σ remains for a satisfactory comparison. As a general rule the readings favoured by the new witness are the shorter ones; cf. e.g. notes on ll. 16, 27, 47-8, 53, 62, 67, 74, 129, 138-9, 154, 183, 185, 188, as against ll. 42, 81, 144, 163. Not infrequently variants occur otherwise attested only by cursive MSS., though here too no consistent agreement can be traced, and the mixed character of the cursive texts is further emphasized. The papyrus is certainly pre-Lucianic, but it has two readings characteristic of Lagarde's Lucianic group (=Holmes 19, 108, 118), *γένους* for *τοῦ γένους* in xix. 38 and the omission of *ἐκέλευ* (with the Hebrew) in xxiv. 38. Readings common to this group and other cursives are *ἐκέλευ* for *ταύτη* in xix. 33, and *ἄνδρες* for *ἄνθρωποι* in xx. 8. On the other hand, the papyrus opposes the Lucianic group in the addition of *τὴν νύκτα ἐκέλευ* in xix. 35, and the omission of *ἐφοβήθη... αὐτήν* in xx. 2, in the one case against, in the other with, the Hebrew. The number of

variants which are altogether new, considering the scope of the fragments, is considerable; see ll. 48, 55, 56, 81, 114, 154, 155, 160, 163, 181. A peculiar feature is the tendency to omit the word *κύριος* when applied to the Deity; this occurs in no fewer than four passages (ll. 17, 122, 155, 166), in three of which (ll. 17, 122, 166) the omission has been made good by the second hand. A blank space was originally left where the word occurred in l. 17. In the version of Aquila the Tetragrammaton was written in Hebrew letters, and this peculiarity reappears in a few Hexaplaric MSS. of the Septuagint. The papyrus offers the first example of a similar tendency to avoid the sacred name in a text otherwise independent of the Aquila tradition.

The collation with the chief uncial codices given below is based on the edition of Swete, while the occasional references to the cursives are derived from Holmes; for some additional information we are indebted to Mr. N. M<sup>o</sup>Lean.

(a) Verso xiv. 21-3.

[Αβραμ<sup>ι</sup> δος] μοι τους ανδρα[ς  
[την δε ιππο]ν λαβε σεαυτω  
[ειπεν δε Αβρα]μ προς βασιλεα  
[Σοδομων εκ]τε[[ι]]νω την χε[ι]  
5 [ρα μου προς τ]ον θεον τον υ  
[ψιστον ος εκ]τισεν τον ουρα  
[νον και την γ]ην ει απο σπαρ  
[τιου εως σφ]αιρωτηρος υ  
[ποδηματος] λημψομαι

Recto xv. 5-9.

10 [σπ]ερμα σ[ο]υ [και επιστευσεν  
[Α]βραμ τω θεω [και ελογισθη  
αυτω εις δικαιοσ[υνην ειπεν  
δε προς αυτον. εγ[ω ο θεος ο εξα  
γαγων σε εκ χωρ[ας Χαλδαιων ωσ  
15 τε δουναι σοι τη]ν γην ταυτην  
[κ]ληρονομησαι. [ειπεν δε δεσπο  
τα κυριε κατα τι γ[νωσομαι οτι  
[κ]ληρονομησω α[υτην ειπεν  
[δε α]υτω. λαβε μ[οι] δαμαλιν τριε  
20 [τι]ζουσαν και αιγα [τριετιζουσαν

(b) Verso xix. 32-xx. 2.

μ[ε]  
μετ αυτου κ[αι εξ]αναστησω  
μεν εκ του [πατρος ημων σπερ  
μα εποτισα[ν δε τον πατερα  
25 αυτων οино]ν εν τη νυκτι εκει  
νη κα[ι] εισελ[θουσα η πρεσβυτε

Recto xx. 2-11.

μ[ε]  
[δε Αμειβελεχ β]ασιλεus Γερα  
65 [ρων και ελαβεν τη]ν Σαρρα<sup>v</sup> και  
[εισηλθεν ο θεος] προς Αμιβε  
[λεχ εν υπνω την] νυκτα και ει  
[πεν ιδου συ απ]οθησκεις π[ε



ρα κοιμηθη [μετα του πατρος  
 την νυκτα εκ[εινην και ουκ ει  
 δη εν τω κοιμη[θηναι αυτην και  
 30 ανασ[τ]ηναι εγ[ενετο δε τη επαν  
 [ρ]ιον και ειπεν [η πρεσβυτερα  
 τη νεωτερα ιδ[ου κοιμη]θην εχθες  
 μετα του πατρο[ος ημων] π[ο]τι  
 σωμεν αυτον ο[ινον και τη]ν νυ  
 35 κτα [τ]α[υτην] κα[ι εισελθουσ]α κο[ι  
 μηθητι μετ α[υτου και εξα]να  
 στησωμεν εκ [του πατρος ημων  
 [σ]περμα εποτισ[αν δε και εν τη  
 νυκτι εκεινη τ[ον πατερα] α[υ  
 40 των οινον και ε[ισελθου]σα η [νε  
 ωτερα κοιμη]θη μετα του πα  
 τρος αυτης τη[ν νυκτα εκ]εινην  
 και ουκ ειδη εν τω κοιμη  
 [θ]η[να]ι και αν[αστηναι και συν  
 45 [ελ]αβον αι δ[υο θυγατερες Λωτ  
 εκ τ[ο]υ πατρος α[υτων και ετεκεν  
 η π[ρε]σβυτερα υ[ιον και εκα  
 λε[σε] ονομα αυ[του Μωαβ εκ του  
 πατ[ρ]ος μου ουτ[ος πατηρ Μωαβι  
 50 των εως της σ[ημερον ημερας  
 ετεκεν δε κ[αι η νεωτερα υιον  
 και [ε]καλεσεν [το ονομα αυτου  
 Αμ[μ]αν υ[ιος γε]νους μου ου  
 τος πατηρ Αμμ[ανιτων εως  
 55 της ημερας ταυτης  
 [εκινη]σεν δε εκκειθεν [Α]βρααμ  
 [εις] γην προς λιβα κ[αι] ωκη[σε]ν  
 [α]να μεσον Καδ[η]ς κα[ι] α[να] με  
 [σο]ν Σ[ου]ρ και παρ[ωκ]ησε[ν εν Γε  
 60 [ραροι]ς ειπεν δε [Α]βρααμ] περι

[ρι της γυναικος] ης ελαβες αυ [
 70 [τη δε εστιν συν]ωκηκυ[ια ανδρ]ι  
 [Αμιβελεχ δε] ουχ ηψατο αυτη[ς  
 [και ειπεν κυριε]· εθνος αγνοουν  
 και δι[καιον απ]ολεις ουκ αυτος  
 μοι ει[πεν αδελ]φη μου εστιν  
 75 και αυτ[η μοι ειπ]εν αδελφος μου  
 εστ[ιν εν καθα]ρ[α καρδια και εν] δικαι  
 [οσ]υν[η χειρων ε]ποιησα τουτο  
 [ειπεν δε αυτω] ο θεος καθ υπν[ο]  
 [καγω ε]γνω[ν ο]τι εν καθα[ρα κα]ρ  
 80 [δ]ια [ε]ποιησας τ[ουτο και ε]φισα  
 αν  
 [μ]ην κ[αγω σου το]ν μη αμαρτειν σε  
 [ει]ς εμ[ε ενεκεν] τουτου ουκ αφη  
 [κ]α σε [αψασθαι αυ]της νυν δε απο  
 [δο]ς τ[ην γυναικα τ]ω ανθρωπω ο  
 85 [τι] προφητης εστ[ιν και π]ροσευ[ξε  
 [ται περι σου και ζη]ση ει δε μη α  
 [ποδιδω]ς γνωθι ο[τι αποθανη  
 [συ και παντα τα σ]α και ωρθ[ρισ]εν  
 [Αμιβελεχ το] πρω[ϊ κα]ι εκα[λε]σε[ν  
 90 [παντας τους π]αιδας αυτο[υ] κα[ι  
 [ε]λαλησεν παντ[α τα ρηματα ταυ  
 [τα εις τα ωτα αυτω]ν εφοβηθη  
 [σαν δε παντες οι α]νδρες σ[φ]οδρα  
 [και εκα]λεσεν Αμ[ειβελεχ τον  
 95 [Αβρααμ] και ειπεν αυτω τι του  
 [το] εποιησας ημ[ι]ν μη τι ημαρ  
 [το]μεν εις σε οτι επηγαγε[ς] επ ε  
 με και επι την βασιλειαν μου α[μαρ  
 [τ]ιαν μεγαλην εργον ο ουδε[ι]ς π[οι  
 100 [ησει πε]ποιηκας μοι ειπεν δε  
 [Α]μειβελεχ τω Αβρααμ τι ενι[δων

[Σα]ρρας της γυναι[ικο]ς αυτου  
[αδε]λφη μου εσ[τι]ν α[πε]στειλεν

[ε]ποιησας τουτο ειπεν δε Αβρ[ααμ]  
[ει]πα γαρ [α]ρα ουκ εστιν θεος[εβεια]  
[ε]ν τω τοπω τουτω εμε τ[ε] απο

εγο[υ]σι  
105 [κτειν]ουσιν ενεκεν της γ[υναι]

(c) Recto xxiv. 28-37.

Verso xxiv. 38-47.

νθ  
δραμουσα η παις απηγγειλε[ν  
εις τον οικον της μητρος αυτης  
τα  
κατα ρηματα ταυτα τη δε Ρεβεκ  
110 κα [α]δελ[φ]ος ην ω ονομα Λαβαν  
και εδραμεν Λαβαν προς τον αν  
θρωπον εξω επι της πηγης και  
εγενετ[ο] ηνικα ειδεν τα ενωτια  
και τα ψελια περι τας χειρας της  
115 αδελφης αυτου και ο[τ]ε ηκου  
σεν τα ρηματα Ρεβε[κ]κας της  
αδ[ε]λφης [αυτ]ου λεγουσης ου  
τως λελα[λη]κεν μοι ο ανθρωπο[ς]  
και ηλθεν [πρ]ος τον ανθρωπον ε  
120 στηκοτος αυτου επι των καμη  
λων επι της πηγης και ειπε[ν] αυ  
τω [δ]ευρο εισελθε ευλογητος κ[υρι]ος  
ινα τι εστηκας εξω εγω δε ητ[οι]  
μακα την οικιαν και τοπον ται[ς]  
125 καμ[η]λοις εισηλθεν δε ο ανθρω  
[π]ος εις τ[η]ν ο[ικια]ν και απεσαξ[εν]  
[τας] καμ[η]λους κ[αι] εδωκεν αχυ[ρα]  
[και] χορτ[α]σματα ταις καμηλοι[ς]  
[και] υδ[ωρ] τοις ποσιν αυτου και τ[οις]  
130 [ποσι] των αν[δρων] τω[ν] με[τ] α[υ]  
του και πα[ρεθ]ηκεν

3 lines lost

ξ  
150 [πο]ρευση και εις την φυ[λη]ν μου  
κ[α]ι λημψη γυν[αι]κα τω υἱω μου  
ειπα δε τω κυ[ρι]ω μου μη ποτε  
ου πορευθησεται [γ]υνη μετ εμου  
155 και ειπεν μοι ο θεος ω ευηρεστη  
σα εναντιον αυτου αυτος απο  
στελει τον αγγελον αυτου με  
τ[α] σου και [ε] ευοδωσει την οδον  
σ[ο]υ και [λη]μψη γυναι[κ]α τω υἱω  
160 μ[ο]υ εκ της φυλης μου η εκ του  
οικου του πατρος μου τοτε αθω  
ος εση απο της αρας μου ηνικα  
γα[ρ] εαν εισελθης εις την εμην  
φυ[λη]ν και μη σοι δωσιν και εση αθω  
165 ο[ς] απο του ορκου μου και ελ[θ]ων  
[ση]μερον επ[ι] τ[η]ν πηγην ε[ι]πα κυ  
[ριε] ο θεος του κυριου μου Αβρ[ααμ] ει συ  
[ευο]δο[ι]ς την οδον μου η ν[υν] εγ[ω]  
[πο]ρευομα[ι] επ[ι] αυτην ιδ[ου] ε[γ]ω εφ[ε]  
170 [στ]ηκα επι της [π]ηγης του [υδατος]  
[αι] δε θυγατερες των ανθρ[ωπων]  
[τη]ς πολεως εξελευσονται αντλη  
[σαι] υδωρ και εσται η παρθ[ενος] η  
εγω  
[εα]ν ειπω ποτισον με με[ικρον] υ  
175 [δωρ] ε[κ] τ[ης] υδριας σου [και] ειπη  
[μοι] πιε συ και ταις καμηλοις σου υ



- 135 [παις Αβρααμ] ἐγὼ εἰμι . . . . . [δρευσομαι αὐτ]ῇ [ἡ γυνὴ ἡν ἡτοί  
[. . . . . τον] κυριον [μου σφοδρα  
καὶ υψώθη [καὶ] ἐδ[ωκεν αὐτῷ  
προβατὰ κα[ὶ] μοσχους καὶ  
D ἀργυριον καὶ π[αιδισκας καὶ  
140 [κ]αμη[λο]υς καὶ οὐ[ρους καὶ ἐτεκέ  
[Σαρ]ρα [ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ κυρίου μου υἱον  
[ἐνα τῷ κυρίῳ μου μ]ε[τ]ὰ το [γῆρα  
[σαι αὐτον καὶ ἐδωκ]εν αὐ[τῷ παν  
[τὰ ὅσα ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ ὠ]ρκισέ[ν με ὁ  
145 [κύριος μου λεγὼν οὐ] λημψή [γυ  
[ναῖκα τῷ υἱῷ μου ἀπο τῶν] θυγα[τε  
[ρων τῶν Χαναναιῶν ἐν] οἷς [ἐ  
2 lines lost  
180 [τι πεποιη]κας ἐλε[ος τῷ] [κυρίῳ  
[μου Αβρααμ] καὶ ἐγενετο ἐν τῷ  
[συντελεσθαι με] λαλουντα ἐν τῇ  
[διανοίᾳ] εὐ[θυσ] P[ε]βεκκα ἐξέπο  
[ρευετο] ἐχ[ουσ]α τὴν υδ[ρι]αν ἐπὶ  
185 [τῶν ὠμ]ῶν κ[αὶ κ]α[τέβη ἐπ]ὶ τ[ὴν  
[πηγὴν] καὶ υδρευσατο εἶπα δὲ αὐ  
[τῇ πο]τισον [με καὶ σπενσασα κα  
[θείλε]ν τὴν [υδρίαν ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς καὶ  
[εἰ]πεν π[ε]ῖ[ε] σὺ καὶ τὰς καμηλοὺς  
190 [σο]ὺ ποτ[ίω καὶ ἐπιον καὶ τὰς καμη  
[λου]ς μου [ἐποτίσεν καὶ ἠρωτήσα  
[αὐτήν] κ[αὶ  
. . . . .

(d) Recto xxvii. 32-3.

. . . . .  
υἱ[ο]ς  
ἐξ]εστη [δε  
195 μεγαλη]ν σφ[οδρα  
θηρ]ευσ[ας  
εἰσενεγ]κας [μοι  
. . . . .

Verso xxvii. 40-1.

. . . . .  
] ἐκλυ[σεις  
τρα]χηλ[ου  
200 τῷ Ἰακ[ωβ  
εὐ]λογ[ησεν  
αὐτο]ν εἰπεν  
. . . . .

1. [Αβραμ dos] is somewhat short for the lacuna, but to add *pros* would make the supplement rather long.

4. The deletion of ι may be due to either the first or second hand; *εκτενω* AD.

13. *pros auton*: so most cursives; *αὐτῷ* AD. The ε of *εγ[ω]* seems to have been altered from some other letter.

16. [κ]ληρονομησαι: so A; κλ. αὐτήν D.

17. A blank space, sufficient for four letters, was left by the original scribe between *τα* and *κατα*, and in this *κυριε* was inserted by the second hand; cf. ll. 122, 155, and 166.

25. *εκει]νη*: so a number of cursives, including the 'Lucianic' group; *ταυτη* ADE.

27. *αυτης* which is read after *πατρος* by ADE seems to have been omitted by the

papyrus, the line being quite long enough without it. On the other hand *την νυκτα εκεινην* is omitted in *D*.

28. *ειδη*: the same spelling for *ηδει* recurs in l. 43; *εγνω* *D* in both places.

32. *τη νεωτερα*: so the Codex Caesareus and several cursives; *προς την νεωτεραν* *ADE*. *εχθες* has been added at the end of the line by the second hand.

36. *μ* of *μετ* has been altered from *α*.

37-8. *εκ . . . [σ]περμα*: so *AD*; *σπ. εκ του π. ημων* *E*.

39-43. The position of the small fragment at the ends of these lines is made practically certain by the recto (cf. note on l. 81); but the scanty vestiges in l. 42 do not suit particularly well and the reading adopted is very problematical. Moreover above the line between the supposed *α* and *η* is a curved mark which does not suggest any likely letter and remains unexplained. One cursive (108) has *και η νεωτερα*, but there is no ground for attributing this to the papyrus.

42. *την νυκτα εκεινην*: om. *ADE*. The papyrus reading is found in the cursives 56 (margin), 74, 106, 130, 134, 135.

43. *ειδη*: cf. l. 28, note.

47. There would be room for two or three more letters in this line.

47-8. *εκαλε[σε] ονομα*: *εκαλεσεν το ονομα* *ADE*. There is not sufficient room in the lacuna for the usual *ν ἐφέλκυστικόν*, still less for *το*.

48. *λεγουσα* which is read after *Μωαβ* by *ADE* was certainly omitted by the papyrus (so Jerome), the passage being thus quite parallel with the explanation of the name *Αμμαν* in the following verse.

53. *υιος χ[ενους]*: so the 'Lucianic' cursives; *ο υιος του γενους* *A*, *υιος του γ.* *D*, *υιον του γ.* *E*.

55. *της ημερας ταυτης*: *της σημερον ημερας* *ADE*. The rest of the line was left blank, a new chapter commencing at l. 56.

56. *[εκινη]σεν δε*: *και εκινησεν* *ADE*.

57. *προς λιβα*: so *AD*; *εως λιβα* *E*.

62. *A* has *οτι* before *αδελφη*, but *οτι* is omitted, as in the papyrus, by *D* and *E*. After *εστιν* the papyrus omits the second half of the verse *εφοβηθη γαρ ειπειν (οτι) γυνη μου εστιν μη ποτε αποκτεινωσιν αυτον οι ανδρες της πολεως δι αυτην* (*ADE*), as do the cursives 15 (first hand), 82, 106, 107, 135.

64. *Αμειβελεχ* or *Αμιβελεχ* is the regular spelling of the name in this text. *Αβιμελεχ* *ADE*.

67. There is evidently not room in the lacuna for *A*'s reading *ειπεν αυτω ιδου συ αποθνησκεις*, and the omission of *αυτω* is more probable (so *DE* and many cursives) than that of *συ* (om. *E*).

74. *E* inserts *οτι* before *αδελφη* here and *αδελφος* in l. 75.

79. *καθαρα καρδ[ι]α*: so *A*; *καρδια καθαρα* *E*.

80. *εφισα[μ]ην*: *εφεισαμην* *A*, *εφησαμην* *E*.

81. *κ[αγω (εγω* *AE*) may have been merely repeated here from l. 79, but, as Mr. McLean points out, it is supported by the Hebrew and may well be a genuine reading. The other letters on this fragment (ll. 80-5) suit so exactly that there can be no reasonable doubt that it is rightly placed here, although there is also a slight difficulty with regard to the verso.

*αμαρτειν*, the reading of the first hand, is that of *AE*.

86. *ζη[ση]*: so *A*; *ζησει* *E*.

93. *α[νδρες]*: so a number of cursives; *ανθρωποι* *AE*.

104. *τ[ε]*: so *A*; *δε* *E*.



105. The reading of the interlinear insertion is very uncertain, but the alteration apparently concerns the termination of the verb, and it seems more probable that *αποκτεινουσι* was corrected to *αποκτενουσι* than vice versa. *αποκτενουσι* AE; *αποκτεινουσι* occurs in the cursive 72; cf. l. 165, note.

109. The reading of A here is exactly parallel to that of the papyrus, *τα* after *κατα* having been originally omitted and supplied by an early corrector. *ND* are deficient.

112. *της πηγης: την πηγην* A. The genitive seems to have come in from the next verse.

113. *ειδεν: ιδεν* A.

114. *περι: επι* A, *ἐν ταῖς χερσί* a number of the cursives.

122. *κ[υ]ριος* has been added at the end of the line by the second hand: *κς* *AND*.

123. *ητ[οι]μακα: so ND; ητοιμασα* A.

126. *απεσαξ[εν]: so ND; επεσαξεν* A.

129. The papyrus agrees with A in omitting *νιψασθαι* which *ND* add after *υδωρ*.

135-6. The reading of the papyrus here cannot be determined; *NA* have *κυριος δε ευλογησεν*, D *[κς ε]υοδωσεν. κυριος δε ευλογησεν* or *ευοδωσεν τον* makes the end of l. 135 a little long, but a blank space may have been originally left for *κυριος* as in ll. 122 and 126 or *δε* may have been omitted.

138-9. The papyrus here omits several words and its exact reading is not quite clear. A has *προβατα και μοσχους και αργυριον και χρυσιον παιδας και παιδισκας καμηλους και ονους*, D leaves out the *και* after *μοσχους*, transposes *αργυριον* and *χρυσιον* and inserts *και* before *παιδας*. It is just possible that the papyrus agreed with D in reading *μοσχους χρυσιον και*, but *π[αιδας και παιδισκας και]* can evidently not be got into l. 139, and more probably both *χρυσιον* and *και παιδας* were omitted and *και* was written with each substantive. The words originally missing were probably supplied by the second hand at the bottom of the page, for opposite l. 139 is the semicircular sign commonly used to mark an omission; cf. e.g. 16. iii. 3.

141-2. It is quite possible that the lines were divided *υι|ον* and that *ενα* was omitted, as in D.

143. *αυτον: or αυτην* (D).

144. The length of the lacuna indicates that the text agreed with D and the second corrector of *N* in adding *παντα* before the simple *οσα* of *NA*.

152. After *μου* *NAD* add *εκειθεν*. The papyrus here supports the 'Lucianic' cursives 19 and 108.

154. *πορευθησεται: so a number of cursives; πορευθη* A, *πορευσεται* *ND*.

*[γ]υνη: η γυνη* *AND*.

155. *ο θεος: κυριος ο θεος* A, om. *ο θεος* *ND*.

156. *εναντιον: so AD* and the second corrector of *N*; *ενωπιον* *N*.

*αποστελει: so ND; εξαποστελει* A.

160. *η: και* MSS.

162. *απο: so ND; εκ* A.

163. *εισελθης: ελθης* AD.

*την εμην φυ[λ]ην: so D; την φυλην μου* A.

164. *σοι δωσιν: this is the order in many of the cursives; δωσιν σοι* AD. *και* before *εση* is omitted by D.

165. *ορκου: so the cursive 72* (cf. note on l. 105); *ορκισμον* *NAD*.

166. *κυ[ριε]* (so *NAD*) is again due to the second hand; cf. l. 17, note.

168. *η υ[υν]:* there is not room in the lacuna for more than two letters, so *ην [υνν]* (*NAD*) is inadmissible. *η* is found also in the cursives 75 and 106.

169. εφ[εστ]ηκα: εστηκα **Σ**AD; there is an erasure before εστηκα in A, and apparently εφεστηκα (which also occurs in several cursives) was the original reading.

170. της [π]ηγης: so **Σ**D; την πηγην A.

171. [αι δ]ε: so D; και αι **Σ**A.

172. εξελευσont[αι]: so AD; εκπορευονται **Σ**. The papyrus seems to have had αντλησαι, which is found in some of the cursives; υδρευσασθαι, the better supported reading, is too long.

174. [εα]ν: the papyrus follows the vulgar spelling. εγω was originally omitted, and was added by the second hand.

μεικρον is also the spelling of **Σ**.

175-6. The reading printed is that of A, which on the whole seems to suit the space best; but μοι may have been written at the end of l. 175, and the variant of **Σ** πτε και συ or of D και συ πτε is quite possible.

178. θ[ε]ραποντι αυτου (**Σ**) seems more likely than ε[α]υτου θεραποντι (AD), for though the supposed θ may equally well be ε the line is already rather long and the lacuna in l. 179 is sufficiently filled with [Ισαακ και].

181. εν τω: προ του **Σ**A, πριν η D.

183. [διανοια]: so **Σ**; διανοια μου AD.

ευ[θυς]: so **Σ**A: και ιδου D.

185. Though the κ of κ[αι] is not quite certain and still less the α of κ[α]τεβη, the papyrus clearly agreed with AD in omitting αυτης which is read after ωμων by **Σ**.

188. A here has την υδριαν επι τον βραχιονα αυτης αφ εαυτης και ειπεν, while **Σ**D omit επι τον βραχιονα. The papyrus reading was still shorter, since not more than about 15 letters should stand in the lacuna, and there can be little doubt that αυτης was left out, as in some of the cursives.

189. πε[ι]ε: l. πτε.

192. This line may have been the last of the column, but the recto has one line more.

## 657. EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

Height 26.3 cm.

This considerable fragment of the Epistle to the Hebrews is written on the back of the papyrus containing the new epitome of Livy (668). The text is in broad columns, of which eleven are represented, corresponding to Ch. ii. 14-v. 5, x. 8-xi. 13, and xi. 28-xii. 17, or about one-third of the whole. The columns are numbered at the top, those preserved being according to this numeration 47-50, 63-5, 67-9; it is thus evident that the Epistle to the Hebrews was preceded in this MS. by something else, probably some other part of the New Testament. The hand is a sloping uncial of the oval type, but somewhat coarse and irregular, and apparently in the transitional stage between the Roman and Byzantine variety. It is very similar in appearance to the hand of 404, a fragment of the Shepherd of Hermes, of which a facsimile is given in



P. Oxy. III, Plate iv; and we should attribute it to the first half of the fourth century, while it may well go back to the first quarter. As stated in the introd. to 668, the papyri with which this was found were predominantly of the third century, and it is not likely to have been separated from them by any wide interval. The fact that the strips of cursive documents which were used to patch and strengthen the papyrus before the verso was used are of the third and not the fourth century points to the same conclusion. There is no sign anywhere of a second hand, and such corrections as occur are due to the original scribe, who is responsible for occasional lection signs and the punctuation by means of a double point inserted somewhat freely and not always accurately (cf. e. g. l. 19); a single point is occasionally substituted. This system of punctuation is remarkable, for it seems to correspond to an earlier division into *στίχοι* longer than those in extant MSS. and frequently coinciding with the arrangement in the edition of Blass (Halle, 1903). The contractions usual in theological MSS. are found,  $\overline{\text{IC}}$  being written for *Ἰησοῦς*. Orthography is not a strong point, instances of the confusion common at this period between *ι* and *ει*, *ε* and *αι*, *υ* and *οι*, being especially frequent; but apart from minor inaccuracies the text is a good and interesting one. Its chief characteristic is a tendency in Chs. ii-v to agree with B, the Codex Vaticanus, in the omission of unessential words or phrases; cf. notes on ll. 15, 24, and 60. This gives the papyrus a peculiar value in the later chapters, where B is deficient; for here too similar omissions are not infrequent (cf. notes on ll. 118, 125, 151, 152, 161, 224), and it is highly probable that they were also found in B, particularly when, as is sometimes the case, D (the Claromontanus, of the sixth century) is on the same side. Of the other MSS. the papyrus is nearest to D (cf. notes on ll. 60, 125, 145, 152, 154, 178, 222, 224-6), but the two sometimes part company (cf. notes on ll. 139, 163, 180); only in one doubtful case (note on l. 168) does it support  $\aleph$  against the consensus of the other MSS. Variants peculiar to the papyrus, apart from the omissions already referred to, are noted at ll. 32, 37, 106, 115, 156, 162, 227, 229. We give a collation with the Textus Receptus and the text of Westcott and Hort, adding particulars concerning the readings of the principal authorities.

Col. i.

 $\mu\zeta$ 

[καταργηση τον] το κρατος εχοντα του θανατου	ii. 14
[τουτεστι το]ν διαβολον : και απαλλαξη του	
[τους οσοι φοβω θ]ανατου δια παν{τον}τος του ζην	
5 [ενοχοι ησαν δου]λειας : ου γαρ δηπου αγγελων	

- [ἐπιλαμβάνεται] ἀλλὰ σπέρματος Ἀβραὰμ ἐπι  
 [λαμβάνεται ὁ] ἐν ὧφι ἐν κατα πάντα τοῖς α  
 [δελφοῖς ὁμοιωθ]ῆναι : ἵνα ἐλεημῶν γενῆται  
 [καὶ πιστὸς ἀρχι]ερεὺς τὰ πρὸς τὸν  $\overline{\theta\nu}$  εἰς τὸ εἰλασ  
 10 [κεσθαι τὰς ἀμαρ]τίας τοῦ λαοῦ : ἐν ᾧ γὰρ πέπον  
 [θὲν αὐτὸς πiraσ]θεις : δύναται τοῖς πiraζομε  
 [νοῖς βοηθῆσαι ὁ]θὲν ἀδελφοὶ ἅγιοι κλησεὺς ε  
 [πουρανίου μετοχ]οί : κατανοήσατε τὸν ἀποστολῶ  
 [καὶ ἀρχιερεὰ τῆς ὁ]μολογίας ἡμῶν  $\overline{\text{I}\nu}$  πιστὸν ὄντα  
 15 [τῷ ποιήσαντι] αὐτὸν : ὡς κε Μωϋσῆς ἐν τῷ οἰκῷ  
 [αὐτοῦ πλειο]νός γὰρ δοξῆς οὗτος παρὰ Μωϋσῆν  
 [ἡξίωται καθ' ὅ]σον πλείονα τιμῆ(ν) ἔχει τοῦ [ὁ]ικοῦ : ὁ  
 [κατασκευά]σας αὐτὸν : πᾶς γὰρ οἶκος κατασκευ  
 [άζεται ὑπο] τίνος : ὁ δὲ πάντα κατασκευάσας :  $\overline{\theta\varsigma}$   
 20 [καὶ Μωυση]ς μὲν πιστὸς ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ οἰκῷ αὐτοῦ  
 [ὡς θεραπεύ]ν εἰς μαρτύριον : τῶν λαληθήσομε  
 [νῶν  $\overline{X\varsigma}$  δὲ] ὡς υἱὸς ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ οὗ οἶκος  
 [ἐσμεν ἡμεῖ]ς : εἰς τὴν παρρησίαν καὶ τὸ καυχῆ  
 [μα τῆς ἐλπ]ίδος κατασχόμεν : διὸ καθὼς λέγει  
 25 [τὸ  $\overline{\pi\nu\alpha}$  τὸ α]γιὸν σήμερον εἰς τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ  
 [ἀκουσητέ] μὴ σκληρυνῆτε τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν  
 [ὡς ἐν τῷ πα]ραπικρασμῷ κατα τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ  
 [πiraσμου] ἐν τῇ ἐρημῳ οὗ ἐπὶ ρ(α)σαν οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν

## Col. ii.

μη

- 30 ἐν δ[οκι]μασία καὶ εἶδον τὰ ἔργα μου τεσσαράκον[τα  
 ἐτὴ [δι]ὸ προσώκθεισα τῇ γενεᾷ ταύτῃ καὶ εἰπ[ον  
 αἰε [πλ]αν[ω]νται ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῶν διὸ οὐκ ἐγνώ[σαν  
 τὰς ὁδοὺς μο]ν ὡς ὠμοσα ἐν τῇ ὀργῇ μου εἰ εἰσ[ε  
 λευ[σονται] εἰς] τὴν καταπαυσίν μου : βλέπεται ἀ[δελ  
 35 φο]ι μὴ ποτε ἐστε ἐν τινὶ ὑμῶν καρδίᾳ πονηρ[α  
 [ἀπι]σ[τία]ς : ἐν τῷ ἀποστῆναι ἀπὸ  $\overline{\theta\nu}$  ζῶντος : ἀλ [   
 [λα] πα[ρα]καλεσατέ εαυτοὺς καθ' ἑκαστὴν ἡμ[ε

iii. 9



- [ρα]ν ἀ[χ]ρι ου το σημερον καλε[ι]ται : ἵνα μ[η] σκλη  
 [ρυν]θ[η] τις ἐξ υμῶν ἀπατη τ[η]ς αρματίας [μετο  
 40 [χοι] γὰρ του Χ[υ] γεγοναμεν : εανπερ την ἀ[ρχην  
 [τ]ης υποστασεως μεχρι τελους βεβαιαν [κατα  
 [σ]χωμεν εν τω λεγεσθαι σημερον εαν της φ[ω  
 νης αυτου ακουσητε : μη σκληρυνητε τας κ[αρ  
 δειας ὑμῶν ὡς εν τω παραπικρασμῳ : τι[νες  
 45 γαρ ακουσαντες παρεπικραναν ἀλλ ου πα[ντες  
 οι ἐξελθο[ντες] ἐξ] Αιγυπτου δια Μωϋσεως τισ[ιν  
 δε προσωχ[θισεν] τεσσαρακοντα ετη ουχι τ[οις  
 αμαρτησασιν ὧν τα κῶλα ἐπεσεν εν τη ἐ[ρη  
 μῳ : τισ[ιν] δε ὡμοσεν μη εισελευσεσθαι εἰς  
 50 τ[η]ν καταπαυσιν αυτου ει μη τοις ἀπιθησασε[ιν  
 κ[α]ι βλεπομεν οτι [ο]υκ ἠδυνασθησαν εισε[λ  
 θειν δι ἀ[πιστ]ειαν : φοβηθῶμεν ουν μη π[ο  
 τε κατα[λι]πομενης ἐπαγγελίας εισελθε[ιν  
 [εἰς] την καταπαυσιν αυτου δοκη τις ἐξ υμ[ῶν  
 55 ὕστερ[η]κεναι : και γαρ εσμεν ευηγγελισμεν[οι

Col. iii.

μθ

- [καθαπερ κ]ακεινοι ἀλλ ουκ ὠφελησεν ο λογος  
 [της ακοης] ἐκεινους μη συνκεκερασμενους  
 [τη πιστι το]ις ακουσασιν : εισερχομεθα γαρ εις  
 60 [καταπα]υσιν οι πιστευσαντες : καθως ειρηκεν  
 [ὡς ὡμο]σα εν τη οργη μου ει ἐλευσοντε εις την κα  
 [ταπαυ]σιν μου : καιτοι τ[ῶν] ἐργῶν ἀπο καταβο  
 [λης κοσ]μου γενηθεντων ειρηκεν που περι της  
 [εβδομ]ης ουτως : και κα[τε]παυσε ο  $\overline{\theta\varsigma}$  εν τη ημε  
 65 [ρα τη εβ]δομη ἀπο παντ[ῶν] τῶν ἐργῶν αυτου : και  
 [εν τουτ]ῳ πα[λιν] εισελευ[σονται] εις την καταπαυσί  
 [μου ἐπ]ι ουν ἀπολιπετε τινας εισελθειν εις αυτῇ  
 [και οι πρ]οτερον ευαγγελισθεντες ουκ ειση[λθ]ῶ  
 [δι ἀπιθι]αν παλιν τινα οριζει ημεραν σημερῶ

iv. 2

- 70 [εν Δαί]ειδ λεγων μετα τοσουτον χρονον [κα]θ[ω]ς  
 [προειρη]ται : [σ]ημερον εαν της φωνης αυτ[ου] α  
 [κουσητ]ε μ[η] σκληρυνητε τας καρδιας υμ[ων]  
 [ει γαρ α]ντους  $\overline{\text{Ις}}$  κατεπαυσεν ουκ αν π[ε]ρι αλ  
 [λης ελα]λι μετα ταυτα ημερας : αρα απ[ολι]  
 75 [πεται σ]αββατισμος τω λαω του  $\overline{\text{θυ}}$  ο γαρ [εισ  
 [ελθων] ει[ς την] καταπαυσιν αυτ[ου] : και α[υ]τος  
 [κατεπ]αυσ[εν] απο των εργων αυ[του] ὡς[περ] α  
 [πο των ι]διων ο  $\overline{\text{θς}}$  σπουδασωμεν [ο]υ[ν] εισελ  
 [θειν ει]ς εκεινην την καταπαυσι[ν ιν]α μη εν  
 80 [τω αυτ]ω τις υποδιγματι πεση της απιθ[ι]ας : ζῶ  
 [γαρ ο λο]γος του  $\overline{\text{θυ}}$  και ενεργης : και [τ]ομ[ωτερο]ς υ

## Col. iv.

ν

- περ πασαν μαχα[ιραν] διστομον και δικνουμε  
 νος αχρει μερισμ[ου] ψυχης και  $\overline{\text{πνς}}$  αρμων τε  
 85 και μυελων και κ[ριτικος] ενθυμησης και εν  
 νων καρδειας : [και ουκ εστιν] κτισις αφανης  
 ενωπιον αυτου : [παντα δε] γυμνα και τετραχη  
 λισμενα τοις οφ[θαλμοις] αυτου προς ον ημιν  
 ο λογος : εχοντε[ς] ουν αρχιερεα μεγαν διε  
 90 ληλυθοτα του[ς] ουρανους  $\overline{\text{Ιν}}$  τον υιον του  $\overline{\text{θυ}}$   
 κρατωμεν της [ομολογιας] ου γαρ εχομεν αρχι  
 ρεα μη δυναμ[ενον] συνπαθηςαι ταις ασθε  
 νεια[ι]ς ημων [πεπιρασμενον] δε κατα παντα  
 καθ ομοιοτητα [χωρις] αμαρτιας προσερχωμε  
 95 θα ουν μετα [παρρησιας] τω θρονω της χαριτος  
 [ιν]α λαβωμε[ν] ελεος και χαριν ευρωμεν εις ευ  
 [και]ρον βοηθ[ειαν] πας γαρ αρχιερευς εξ ανθρω  
 [πω]ν λαμβα[νομενος] υπερ ανθρωπων κα  
 [θι]στατα[ι] τα προς τον  $\overline{\text{θν}}$  ινα προσφερη δωρα  
 100 [και θυ]σιας υ[περ] αμαρτιων μετριοπαθειν δυ  
 ναμενος τοις α[γνοουσι] και πλανωμενοις επει

iv. 12



και αυτος περ[ικειται ασθενειαν και δι αυτην  
 οφιλει καθω[ς περι του λαου ουτως και περι εαν  
 του προσφερ[ειν περι αμαρτιων και ουχ ε  
 105 αυτω τις λαμβ[ανει την τιμην αλλα καλουμε  
 νος ὑπο του [θυ ουτως και ο Xs ουχ εαυτον εδο  
 ξασεν γενη[θηναι αρχιερεα αλλ ο λαλησας

12 columns lost.

Col. v.

ξβ

[προσφέρονται το]τε ειρη[κεν ι]δου η[κω του ποιησαι το  
 110 [θελημα σου] : αναιρει το [πρωτ]ον ἵνα [το δευτερον στη  
 [ση εν ω θε]ληματι ηγιασμεν[ο]ι εσμ[εν δια της προσ  
 [φορας του σω]ματος Iy X[v] εφαπαξ : [και πας μεν ιε  
 [ρευσ εστη]κεν καθ ημεραν λιτου[ργων και τας αυτας  
 [πολλακις] προσφερω[ν] θυσιας αιτινες ου[δεποτε  
 115 [δυνανται] περιελειν αμαρτιαν : ουτος δε [μιαν υ  
 [περ αμαρτιων] προσενεγκας θυσιαν εις το διη[νεκες  
 [εκαθισεν εν δεξια] του θυ το λοιπον εκδεχο[μενος  
 [εως τεθωσιν] οι εχθροι ὑποποδιον των ποδ[ι]ω[ν αυτου  
 [μια γαρ προσ]φορα τετελειωκεν εις το διηνεκε[ς τους  
 120 [αγιαζομεν]ους : μαρτυρει δε ημειν και τ[ο π]να  
 [το αγιον μετ]α γαρ το ειρηκεναι αυτη δε η δια[θηκη  
 [ην διαθησο]μαι προς αυτους μετα τας ημερ[ας εκι  
 [νας λεγει κ]ς διδους νομους μου επι καρδια[ς αυτω  
 [και επι τη]ν διανοιαν αυτων [[α]] επιγραψω αυ[τους  
 125 [και των αμ]αρτιων και [τ]ων ανομιων αυτων ου μι  
 [μνησθησο]μαι ετι : οπου δε αφεσις του[τ]ων ουκ  
 [ετι προσφο]ρα περι αμαρτιας : εχοντες ουν αδελ  
 [φοι παρρ]ησιαν εις την εισοδον των αγιων εν τω  
 [αιματι Iy ην ενεκενισεν ημιν οδον προσ  
 130 [φατο]ν και ζωσαν δια του καταπετασματος  
 [τουτ] εστιν της σαρκος αυτου : και ἱερεα μεγαν  
 [επι] τον οικον του θυ προσερχωμεθα μετα

x. 8

## Col. vi

. . . . .  
 πρ[σω δοκειτε χειρονος αξιωθησεται τιμωριας ο τον x. 29  
 υ[ιον] τ[ο]ν [θυ καταπατησας και το αιμα της διαθηκης  
 135 κοινον η[γησομενος εν ω ηγιασθη και το π̄να της χα  
 ριτος ενυ[βρισας οίδαμεν γαρ τον ειποντα εμοι εκ  
 δικησις εγ[ω ανταποδωσω και παλιν κρινει κ̄ς τον  
 λαον αυτο[ν φοβερων το εμπεσειν εις χειρας θυ  
 ζωντος : [αναμιμνησκεσθε δε τας προτερον ημε  
 140 ρας εν α[ις φωτισθεντες πολλην αθλησιν υπερμεινατε  
 παθημ[ατων τουτο μεν ονειδισμοις τε και θλιψεσιν

## Col. vii.

ξδ

[θεα]τριζομενοι : τουτο δε κοινων[ο]ι των ουτως x. 33  
 [ανα]στρεφομενων γενηθεντες : και γαρ τοις δεσ  
 145 [μιοι]ς συνεπαθησατε : και την αρπαγην των υπαρ  
 [χον]των υμων μετα χαρας προσεδεξασθ[ε] : γινωσ  
 [κο]ντες εχιν εαυτους κρισσωνα υπαρξιν και μεν[ο]ν  
 [σαν] : μη αποβαλητε ουν την παρρησιαν υμων  
 [ητ]ις εχει μεγαλην μισθαποδοσιαν υπομονης  
 150 [γαρ] εχεται χρεϊαν ινα το θελημα του [θ]υ ποιησαντες  
 [κο]μισησθε την επαγγελειαν : ετ[ι] μικρον οσον :  
 [οσο]ν ο ερχομενος ηξει και ου χρονισει ο δε δικαιος  
 [εκ] πιστεως ζησεται : και εαν υποστειληται : [ο]υκ ευ  
 [δοκ]ει μου η ψυχη εν αυτω : ημεις δε ουκ εσμεν [υ]ποστο  
 155 [λη]ς εις απωλειαν : αλλα πιστεως εις περιποι[η]σιν ψυ  
 [χη]ς : εστι δε πιστις ελπιζομενων πραγματ[ω]ν αποστα  
 [σις] ελ[λ]ενχος ου βλεπομενων : εν αυτη γαρ εμαρτυρη  
 [θησ]αν οι πρεσβυτεροι : πιστι νοουμεν κατηρτεισθαι  
 [του]ς αιωνας ρηματι θυ εις το μη εκ φ[ε]νομενων το  
 160 [βλ]επομενον γεγονεναι : πεισται πλειονα θυσιαν Αβε[λ



παρα Καειν προσηεν' κεν δι ης εμαρτυρηθη ειναι δι  
 [κ]αιος μαρτυρουντος επι τοις δωροις αυτω του θ̄υ και δι αυ  
 της αποθανων ετι λαλει : πιστει Ενωχ' μετετεθ[η] του [μη  
 ιδειν θανατον και ουχ ευρισκετο διοτι μετεθηκεν α[υτον  
 165 ο θ̄ς : προ γαρ της μεταθεσεως μεμαρτυρηται ευηρ[εστηκε

Col. viii.

[ξ̄ε

ναι τω θ̄ω [χωρις δε πιστεως αδυνατον ευαρεστησαι xi. 5  
 πιστευσαι γ[αρ δει τον προσερχομενον θ̄ω οτι εστιν  
 και τοις ζη[τουσιν αυτον μισθαποδοτης γινεται πιστει  
 170 χρηματι]σθεις Νωε περι των μηδεπω βλεπομενων  
 ευλαβηθε[ις κατεσκευασεν κιβωτον εις σωτηριαν του  
 οικου αυτου [δι ης κατεκρινεν τον κοσμον και της κατα  
 πισ[τι]ν δικα[ιουσυνης εγενετο κληρονομος πιστει καλου  
 μενος Αβραα[μ υπηκουσεν εξελθειν εις τοπον ον ημελ  
 175 λεν λαμβαν[ειν εις κληρονομιαν και εξηλθεν μη επι  
 σταμενος π[ου ερχεται πιστει παρωκησεν εις γην της  
 επαγγελιας [ως αλλοτριαν εν σκηναις κατοικησας μετα  
 Ἰσακ' και Ἰακ[ωβ των συνκληρονομων της επαγγελιας της  
 αυτης : εξ[εδεχετο γαρ την τους θεμελιους εχουσαν πο  
 180 λιν : ης τεχνι[ιτης και δημιουργος ο θ̄ς πιστει και αυτης  
 αρρα δυναμ[ιν εις καταβολην σπερματος ελαβεν και πα  
 ρα καιρον ηλ[ικιας επει πιστον ηγησατο τον επαγγειλαμε  
 νον· διο και [αφ ενος εγεννηθησαν και ταυτα νενεκρω  
 μενου : κα[θως τα αστρα του ουρανου τω πληθει και  
 185 ως η αμμος η [παρα το χειλος της θαλασσης η αναριθμητος  
 κατα πιστιν α[πεθανον ουτοι παντες μη κομισαμενοι τας  
 [ε]παγγελεια[s αλλα πορρωθεν αυτας ιδοντες και ασ  
 [π]ασαμενοι κ[αι ομολογησαντες οτι ξενοι και παρεπιδημοι  
 [ε]ισιν επι της [γης

I column lost.

## Col. ix.

190

ξζ

- [πρωτοτοκα θιγη α]υτων : πιστει διεβησαν την Ερυθραν xi. 28  
 [θαλασσαν ως δια ξηρ]ας γης : η[s] πειραν λαβοντες οι Αιγυ  
 [πτιοι κατεποθησαν] πιστει τα τιχη Ιεριχω επεσαν κυκλω  
 [θεντα επι επτα ημερα]ς : πιστει Ρααβ η πορνη ου συναπω  
 195 [λετο τοις απιθησασιν] δεξαμενη τους κατασκοπους μετ'  
 [ειρηνης και τι ετι λε]γω επιλιψει γαρ με διηγουμενον ο χρο  
 [νος περι Γεδεων Βαρ]ακ' Σαμψω Ιεφθαε Δαυειδ' τε και Σαμουηλ  
 [και των προφητων] οι δια πιστεως κατηγωνισαντο βασιλειας  
 [ηργασαντο δικαιοσυ]νην : επετυχον επαγγελιων [:] εφρα  
 200 [ξαν στοματα λεον]των : εσβεσαν δυναμιν πυρος [:] εφν  
 [γον στοματα μαχ]αιρης : εδυναμωθησαν απο ασθενει  
 [ας εγεννηθησαν ισ]χυροι εμ πολεμω παρεμβολας εκλει  
 [ναν αλλοτριων ελ]αβον γυνεκα[. .] εξ αναστασεως τους  
 [νεκρους αυτων α]λλοι δε ετοιμ[πα]νισθησαν ου προσδεξα  
 205 [μενοι την απολυτ]ρωσιν ινα κρειττονος αναστασεως  
 [τυχωσιν ετεροι δε] εμπεγμων και μαστειγων πειραν  
 [ελαβον ετι δε δεσμ]ων και φυλακης : ελιθασθησαν  
 [επρισθησαν ε]πι[ρα]σθησαν : εν φονω μαχαιρας α  
 [πεθανον περ]ιη[λ]θον εν μηλωταις εν εγιοις δερμα  
 210 [σιν υστερουμενοι] θλειβομενοι : κακουχουμενοι  
 [ων ουκ ην αξιος] ο [κο]σμος : επι ερημειαις πλανωμε  
 [νοι και ορεσι και σ]πηλεις και ταις οπαις της γης : και  
 [ουτοι παντες μαρτυρηθε]ντες δια της πιστεως ουκ εκομι  
 [σαντο την επ]αγγε[λ]ειαν του θυ περι ημων κριττον  
 215 [τι προβλεψα]μενου ινα μη χωρις ημων τελειωθωσ[ι]  
 [τοιγαρουν και] ημεις τοσουτον εχοντες περικικμενον

## Col. x.

ξη

- ημ[ιν ν]εφος μαρ[τ]υρων ογκον : αποθ[ε]μενοι] παντα και xii. 1  
 τη[ν ευπ]εριστατον αμαρτειαν δι υπομονης τρεχωμεν τῷ



- 220 π[ροκειμ]ενον ημειν αγωνα αφορωντες εις τον της πιστεως  
 αρχηγον και τελειωτην  $\overline{\text{I}\nu}$  ος αντι της προκειμενης αυτω χα  
 ρας ὑπεμεινεν τον σταυρον αισχυνης καταφρονησας εν  
 δεξια τε [τ]ου θρονου του  $\overline{\text{th}\nu}$  κεκαθι[κ]εν : αναλογισασθαι γαρ  
 τοιαυτην ὑπομεμενηκοτα ὑπο των αμαρτων. εις αυ  
 225 τους αντιλογιαν ἵνα μη καμητε ταις ψυχαις εκλελυμε  
 νοι : ουπω μεχρι αιματος αντικατεστητε προς την α  
 μαρτιαν αγων[ι]ζομενοι και εκκλησθαι της παρακλησεως  
 ητις ὑμειν ως ὑιοις διαλεγεται ὑιε μου μη ολιγωρει παιδει  
 ας  $\overline{\text{k}\nu}$  και μη εγλυου ὑπ αυτου ελεγχομενος : ον γαρ α  
 230 γαπα  $\overline{\text{k}\varsigma}$  πεδευει μαστειγοι δε παντα ὑιον ον παραδεχεται[ι  
 εις παιδειαν υπομ[ε]νεται ως ὑ[ι]οις ὑμειν προσφερεται  
 ο  $\overline{\text{th}\varsigma}$  τις γαρ ὑιος ον ου πεδευει πατηρ ει δε χωρις [εστ]αι  
 παιδειας ης μετοχοι γεγωνασι παντες : αρα νο[θοι και] ουκ  
 ὑιοι εστε : ειτα τους μεν της σαρκος ημων π[ατ]ερα[ς ε]ιχο  
 235 μεν παιδευτας και ενετρεπομεθα : ου πολυ δε μαλ  
 λον ὑποταγησομεθα τω πατρι των πνευματων και ξη  
 σομεν : οι μεν γαρ προς ολιγας ημερας κατα το δοκοῦ  
 αυτοις επαιδευον : ο δε επι το συμφερον εις το μετα  
 λαβειν της αγιοτατης αυτου : πασα δε παιδεια προ(ς) μεν το  
 240 παρον ου δοκει χαρας ειναι αλλα λυπης υστερον δε καρ  
 πον ειρηνικον τοις δι αυτης γεγυμνασμενοις αποδιδω[σῃ]

Col. xi.

[ξθ

- δικ[αιοσυνης διο τας παρειμενας χειρας και τα παραλελυμε xi. 11  
 να [γονατα ανορθωσατε και τροχιας ορθας ποιεите τοις  
 245 πο[σιν υμων ινα μη το χωλον εκτραπη ιαθη δε μαλλον  
 ειρ[ηνην] διωκετε μετα παντων και τον αγιασμον ου χωρις  
 ουδεις οψεται τον  $\overline{\text{k}\nu}$  επισκοπουντες μη τις υστερων απο της  
 χα[ριτος του  $\overline{\text{th}\nu}$  μη τις ριζα πικριας ανω φυουσα ενοχλη  
 κα[ι δι αυτης μιανθωσιν οι πολλοι μη τις πορνος η βεβηλος  
 250 ως [Hσαν ος αντι βρωσεως μιας απεδото τα πρωτοτοκια αυτου ισ

τε [γαρ οτι και μετεπειτα θελων κληρονομησαι την ευλογι  
αν [

14. Ι(ησου)ν: so **NABCD**, &c., W-H.; Χριστον Ιησουν **EKL**, &c., T-R.  
 15. εν τω οικω: so B; εν ολω τω οικω **NACDE**, &c., T-R., W-H. ολω may have come in from verse 5.  
 16. δοξης ουτος: so **KLM**, &c., T-R.; ουτος δοξης **NABCDE**, &c., W-H.  
 19. παντα: so **NABCDKM**, &c., W-H.; τα π. **EL**, &c., T-R.  
 23. εαν: so **NBDE**, &c., W-H.; εανπερ **AC**, &c., T-R. κ of καυχη[μα has been altered apparently from χ.  
 24. ελπ[ιδος κατασχωμεν: so B; ελπ. μεχρι τελους βεβαιαν κατασχ. **NACDE**, &c., T-R., W-H. The phrase μεχρι τελους βεβαιαν κατασχωμεν recurs in verse 14 and may have come in here from that passage.  
 31. προσωκθισα: l. προσώχθισα; the θ has been altered from τ.  
 32. εν τη καρδια αυτων διο: τη καρδια αυτοι δε **MSS**.  
 36-40. The position of the narrow strip placed near the beginning of these lines is uncertain, but it suits very well here. The recto being blank does not help to decide the question.  
 37. πα[ρα]καλεσατε is another otherwise unattested reading: παρακαλειτε **MSS**.  
 38. α[χ]ρι: so M; αχρις other **MSS**., T-R., W-H.  
 39. τις ε]ξ υμων: so **NAC**, &c., T-R., W-H.; εξ υμων τις **BDE**, &c. l. ἀμαρτίας.  
 42. A double point may be lost after σχωμεν.  
 51. ηδυνασθησαν: ηδυνηθησαν **MSS**. The form ἡδυνάσθην occurs e.g. in Matt. xvii. 16 (B), Mark vii. 24 (**NB**).  
 The first ε of εισε[λ]θειν is written over a double point.  
 58. συνεκερασμενους: so **ABCD**, &c., W-H. in text; συνεκερασμενος **N**, W-H. mg., συγκεκραμένος T-R.  
 59. γαρ: so **BDE**, &c.; ουν **NAC**.  
 60. την was certainly omitted before καταπα]υσιν as in BD; την is found in other **MSS**. and is read by W-H. and T-R.  
 63. που: γάρ που T-R., W-H. with all **MSS**. except 109<sup>lat</sup>. which agrees with the papyrus in omitting γαρ.  
 64. κα[τε]πauσεs is a mistake for κα[τε]παυσεν.  
 66. εισελευ[σο]νται: so D and some cursives; ει εισελευσονται other **MSS**., T-R., W-H.  
 70-1. The vestiges of [κα]θ[ω]s are very slight, but are a sufficient indication that the papyrus read προειρηται with **NACDE**, &c., W-H., rather than ειρηται (correctors of DE, KL; T-R.), since the division καθωs does not account for the traces of ink at the end of l. 70.  
 80. σ of πεση was converted from τ.  
 81. ενεργης: so **NACDE**, &c., T-R., W-H.; ενεργης B.  
 85. εν]ντων is for εν]νοιων.  
 96. It is almost certain that the papyrus read ευρωμεν, since without this word the line would be unaccountably short; B stands alone in omitting it.  
 99. The line is sufficiently long without τε after δωρα (om. B and an early corrector of D), and in view of the tendency of the papyrus the omission is probable.  
 106. ουτως, κ.τ.λ.: the **MSS**. here have καθωσπερ (**NABD**) or καθαπερ και (om. και CD) Λαρων ουτως, κ.τ.λ., but there is evidently not room for all this in the papyrus. The only



other authority for any omission here is K, which leaves out *οὕτως και ο Χριστος*; but even without these words the line would remain rather too long. To omit *καθωσπερ και Ααρων* suits the space better and does not damage the sense.

112. The papyrus may of course have read *αι]ματος* (DE) for *σω]ματος* and *αρχιερευσ* (AC) for *ιερευσ* (NDEKL).

115. *αμαρτιαν*: *αμαρτιας* MSS.

116. The second *ν*, if it be *ν*, in *προσενενκας* was converted from *ι* or *υ*. The previous *ν* also seems to have been altered.

118. *εχθροι*: *εχθροι αυτου* MSS. The superfluous *ι* in *ποδιω[ν* was a slip due to the preceding *υποποδιον*.

124. The scribe apparently began to write *αυτους* before *επιγραφω*, but that the *α* was meant to be deleted is not certain and its partial effacement may be accidental.

125. *αμ]αρτιων*: so D and some cursives; *αμαρτιων αυτων* T-R., W-H., with other MSS.

125-6. *μ[μνησθησο]μαι*: 1. *μη [μνησθήσο]μαι*.

127. *αμαρτιας*: *αμαρτιας* MSS. The second *ε* of *εχοντες* has been altered from *α*.

139. *τας προτερον ημε]ρας*: so T-R., W-H., with most MSS.; *τας πρ. αμαρτιας* N, *ταις προτεραις ημεραις* D.

144. *δεσ[μιοι]ς*: so AD, W-H.; *δεσμοις μου* NEHKL, &c., T-R. We cannot of course be sure that the papyrus did not have *δεσμοις*, but the absence of *μου* is the important thing and is much in favour of *δεσμοις*.

147. *εαυτους*: so NA, W-H.; *εαυτοις* DE, &c., *ἐν ἑαυτοῖς* T-R. with a few minuscules.

*κρισωνα* = *κρείσσονα*: so NA, W-H.; *κρειττονα* DE, &c., T-R.

*υπαρξιν*: so NAD, W-H.; *υπ. εν ουρανοις* E, &c., T-R.

151. There is an apparently accidental diagonal dash passing from the top of the supposed *μ* through the *ι*.

*ετ[ι]*: *ετι γαρ* MSS.

152. *χρονισει*: so ND, W-H.; *χρονιει* AE, &c., T-R.

152-3. The papyrus certainly agreed with DE, &c., in omitting *μου*, which is found in NA after *δικαιος*. *δίκαιός [μου]* W-H., *δίκαιος* T-R.

153. *πιστεως*: *πιστεως μου* D.

154. *μου η ψυχη*: so DE; *η ψ. μου* T-R., W-H., with other MSS.

156. *πραγματ[ω]ν αποστα[σις]* (1. *υπόστα[σις]*) is the reverse order to that of all the MSS.; *πραγματων* is usually connected with *βλεπομενων*.

157. *αυτη*: so two cursives (47, 115); *εν ταυτη* other MSS., T-H., W-H.

159-60. *το [βλ]επομενον*: so NADE, W-H.; *τα βλεπομενα* KL, &c., T-R.

161. *προσηνεγκεν*: *προσηνεγκεν τω θεω* MSS.

162. *αυτω του θ(εο)υ*: *αυτου* was originally written but was altered to *αυτω*. *αυτου τω θεω* NAD, *αυτου του θεου* EKL, &c., T-R., W-H.

163. *λαλει*: so NA, W-H., T-R.; *λαλειται* DE, &c.

164. *ευρισκετο*: so KL, &c., T-R.; *ηυρισκετο* NADE, W-H.

165. *ευηρ[εστηκε]ναι*: so NDE; *εναρ*. AKL, W-H., T-R. If *ευηρεστηκεναι* was correctly written this line was somewhat longer than those preceding.

168. *θ(ε)ω*: so N; the papyrus may of course have had *τω θ(ε)ω* like ADE, &c. (so T-R., W-H.), but in view of its tendency to shortness this is less probable.

169. *ζη[τουσιν]*: so P only; *εκζητουσιν* other MSS., T-R., W-H.

175. *λαμβάνειν εις κλ.*: the usual reading; *κλ. λαμβανειν* N.

178. *Ισακ* is also the spelling of D; *Ισαακ* other MSS., T-R., W-H.

180-1. *αυτης | αρρα* is for *αυτη Σαρρα*. The papyrus agreed with NAE, &c., in omitting *στειρα* or *στειρα ουσα* which is found after *Σαρρα* (or after *δυναμιν* or *ελαβεν*) in D and other MSS.

182. It is practically certain that the papyrus did not read *ετεκεν* after *ηλικιας* with EKL and other MSS. (so T-R.). It is omitted in **NAD**, W-H.

185. *ως η*: so all the best MSS.; *ωσει* T-R. with a few minuscules.

186. Considerations of space make *κομισαμενοι* (**N**, &c., W-H.) preferable to *λαβοντες* (DE, &c., T-R.).

187. The papyrus evidently omitted *και πεισθεντες* which is found in some minuscules and read in the T-R.

188. This line is rather long, and the papyrus may have had *παροικοι* for *παρεπιδημοι*, as P.

192. *ξηρ]ας γης*: so **NAD**E, W-H.; om. *γης* KL, &c., T-R.

193. *επεσαν*: so **NAD**, W-H.; *επεσε* EKL, T-R.

194. *πορνη*: *επιλεγομενη πορνη* **N**.

196. *γαρ με*: so EKL, &c., T-R.; *με γαρ* **NAD**, W-H.

197. The papyrus agrees with **NA** (so W-H.) in the omission of conjunctions between the names as far as *Δανειδ*. B. *τε και Σ. και 'Ι*. T-R. with other MSS. The spelling *Σαμψω* is attested as a variant by D. The *ε* of *Δανειδ* was originally omitted; *Δανειδ* **ND**, W-H., *Δανιδ*, *Δαδ*, and *Δαβιδ* (T-R.) other MSS.

201. *μαχ]αιρης*: so **NAD**, W-H.; *μαχαιρας* other MSS., T-R. But the papyrus is inconsistent and has *μαχαιρας* in l. 208.

*εδυναμωθησαν*: **NAD**, W-H.; *ενεδυναμωθησαν* EKL, &c., T-R.

203. The size of the lacuna is inconclusive as to whether the papyrus read *γυνεκα[s]* (**NAD**) or *γυνεκα[is]*, i.e. *γυναῖκες* (EKL, &c., T-R., W-H.).

208. [*επρισθησαν ε]πι[ρα]σθησαν*: this is also the order of AE, &c., and T-R.; *επειρ. επρ.* **ND**, &c., W-H.

*μαχαιρας*: cf. l. 201, note.

211. *επι*: so **NA**, W-H.; *εν* DE, &c., T-R.

216. *τοσουτον*: **N** *τηλικουτον*.

222. *τον σταυρον*: so D; om. *τον* other MSS., T-R., W-H.

223. *κεκαθι[κ]εν*: so the uncials, W-H.; *εκάθισεν* T-R. with some minuscules.

224. The papyrus agrees with D in omitting *τον* which is read before *τοιαυτην* in other MSS. and by T-R., W-H.

*αυτους*: so a corrector of **N**; *εαυτους* **NDE**, W-H., *εαυτον* A, *αυτον* KL, T-R.

225. *εκλελυμενοι*: so D; *εκλυομενοι* other MSS., T-R., W-H.

226. *μεχρι*: so D; *μεχρῖς* other MSS., T-R., W-H.

227. *αγων[ι]ζομενοι*: *ανταγωνιζομενοι* MSS.

229. *και μη*: *μηδε* MSS.

231. *εις*: so most MSS., W-H.; *ει* T-R. with a few minuscules.

232. *τις γαρ*: so **NA**, W-H.; *τις γαρ εστιν* DE, &c., T-R.

233-4. *και ουχ υιοι εστε* is also the order of **NAD**, W-H.; *εστε κ. ο. υι.* KL, &c., T-R.

235. *πολυ δε*: *δε* is also attested as a variant by D and was added by the third corrector of **N**; *πολυ* **NAD**, W-H., *πολλω* KL, &c., T-R.

239. *αγιοτατης* is a graphical error for *αγιοτητος*. *πασα δε* is the reading of AKL, &c., T-R.; *πασα μεν* **N**, &c., W-H.

241. The *ε* of *ειρηνικον* has apparently been corrected and the *η* of *αυτης* was altered from *ο* or *οι*, which perhaps reflects the variant *δι αυτοις* recorded in D; but it may well have been a mere slip.



## 658. CERTIFICATE OF PAGAN SACRIFICE.

15.5 × 7 cm.

An interesting survival of the Decian persecution of the Christians in A.D. 250 is preserved in this papyrus, which is an example of the *libelli* or declarations which suspects were compelled to make that they had sacrificed to the pagan gods. Two only of these *libelli* have hitherto been published, one at Berlin (B. G. U. 287 : Krebs, *Sitzungsb. Berl. Akad.* 1893 ; Harnack, *Theol. Literaturz.* 1894, p. 38), the other at Vienna (Wessely, *Sitzungsb. Wien. Akad.* 1894 ; Harnack, *Theol. Literaturz.* 1894, p. 162). Both of those documents were from the Fayûm ; the present specimen, though from another nome, has the same characteristic phrases, which were evidently a stereotyped formula, and confirms in all respects the emendations and deductions proposed by Harnack in connexion with the Berlin papyrus. Like them also it is addressed to a commission which was specially appointed to conduct the inquisition against the Christians.

Τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν [καὶ  
 θυσίῶν πόλ[εως  
 παρ' Αὐρηλίου Α[. . . . .  
 θίωνος Θεοδώρου μη[τρὸς  
 5 Παντωνυμίδος ἀπὸ τῆ[ς  
 αὐτῆς πόλεως. ἀεὶ μὲν  
 θύων καὶ σπένδων [τοῖ]ς  
 θεοῖς [δ]ιετέλ[εσα] ἔ[τι] δὲ  
 καὶ νῦν ἐνώπιον ὑμῶν  
 10 κατὰ τὰ κελευσθ[έ]ν[τα]  
 ἔσπεισα καὶ ἔθυσα κα[ὶ]  
 τῶν ἱερῶν ἐγευσάμην

ἅμα τῷ νίῳ μου Αὐρη-  
 λίῳ Διοσκόρῳ καὶ τῇ  
 15 θυγατρὶ μου Αὐρηλίᾳ  
 Λαίδι. ἀξιῶ ὑμᾶς ὑπο-  
 σημιώσασθαι μοι.  
 (ἔτους) α Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος  
 Γαίου Μεσσίου Κυίντου  
 20 Τραιανοῦ Δεκίου  
 Εὐσεβοῦ[ς] Εὐ[τυχοῦς]  
 [Σεβασ]τοῦ [Παῦ]νι κ.  
 [. . . .]ν( ) [  
 . . . . .

1. ἱερῶν Pap. ; so in l. 12.  
 the line. 19. γαίου Pap.

12. ἐγευσάμην Pap.  
 20. τραϊανου Pap.

16. λαίδι Pap. o of υπο above

'To the superintendents of offerings and sacrifices at the city from Aurelius . . . -  
 thion son of Theodorus and Pantonymis, of the said city. It has ever been my custom  
 to make sacrifices and libations to the gods, and now also I have in your presence in  
 accordance with the command poured libations and sacrificed and tasted the offerings  
 together with my son Aurelius Dioscorus and my daughter Aurelia Lais. I therefore

request you to certify my statement. The 1st year of the Emperor Caesar Gaius Messius Quintus Trajanus Decius Pius Felix Augustus, Pauni 20.'

1-2. The Berlin and Vienna *libelli* are addressed τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν θυσιῶν ἡρημένοις, omitting ἱερῶν.

6. ἀεὶ μὲν is written in the original rather below the line and there are traces of ink over ἀεὶ, so there seems to have been some correction.

13-4. τῇ θυγατρὶ: women were clearly included in the Decian Edict; cf. the Vienna *libellus*, which is from two men with their wives, and the 5th Edict of Maximin (Euseb. *de Mart. Pol.* ix. 2), quoted by Harnack, πανδημεὶ πάντας ἄνδρας ἅμα γυναῖξὶ καὶ οἰκέταις καὶ αὐτοῖς ὑπομαρτίοις παισὶ θύειν καὶ σπένδειν, κ.τ.λ.

23. A signature begins at this line, though whether it is that of the sender of the declaration or of an official is doubtful. The stroke above the supposed ν which we have taken to represent an abbreviation may be only part of a long paragraphus below the date.

## II. NEW CLASSICAL FRAGMENTS

### 659. PINDAR, Παρθένειον AND ODE.

12.8 x 49 cm.

PLATES III, IV.

Fragments of a roll containing parts of at least five columns of lyric poetry in Pindaric dialect, written in good-sized round uncials, which we assign to the latter half of the first century B.C. Occasional accents, breathings, and stops (high and middle point) have been added by the original scribe, who has also made a few corrections of his work; the text, however, was not left in a very perfect condition, and several alterations are necessary on metrical and other grounds. The first three columns, but for the loss of a few lines at the beginning of each, are in good condition; the fourth becomes more fragmentary, while Col. v, which probably succeeded immediately and to which the majority of the small unplaced pieces appear to belong, is hopelessly broken. The position of these is to some extent fixed by the fact that the verso of Cols. i-iii was utilized for a collection of epigrams (662); for since the verso of most of the scraps is blank, they must be placed later than the upper half of the third column.

Although the Pindaric authorship of these new poems is not definitely established by the coincidence of any part of them with already extant fragments, their style and diction leave little room for doubt as to the identity of the poet. It is therefore a piece of great good fortune that the second at

any rate of the two odes comprised by the papyrus (ll. 21 sqq.) belongs to a class hitherto practically unrepresented in what survives of Pindar's works. This poem was composed in honour of Aeoladas (l. 29) the father of the Pagondas (l. 30) who commanded the Thebans at the battle of Delium (Thucyd. iv. 91-6), and his praises are put in the mouth of a maiden (ll. 26, 46, &c.)—a circumstance which at first led us to suppose that the writer was a woman. But Blass, to whom we are especially indebted in connexion with this papyrus, is clearly right in regarding the piece as one of the *Παρθένεια*, or choruses for girls, which figure in the lists of Pindar's works, and are exemplified in a few meagre quotations (among which is perhaps to be reckoned 221. vii. 6-12). Can the poem be characterized still more closely? In near relation to the *Παρθένεια* there stood a series known as *Δαφνηφορικά*, so called because the singers bore branches of laurel. The catalogue of Pindar's works as given by Suidas distinguishes the *Παρθένεια* from the *Δαφνηφορικά*, while the list given in the Codex Ambrosianus, which is usually recognized as the superior authority, does not mention the latter class, and apparently includes it in the *Παρθένεια*; cf. Proclus, *Chrest. ap. Phot., Bibl.* 239 Παρθ. οἷς καὶ τὰ δαφνηφορικὰ ὥς εἰς γένος πίπτει. It is then quite possible that in the present poem the rather prominent allusions to *δάφνη* (ll. 27-8, 73), in one of which the speaker actually describes herself as carrying a laurel branch, may possess a special significance. On the other hand there is here no sign of the religious character which seems to have belonged to the *Δαφνηφορικά* (cf. Proclus, *ibid.*); Pindar is indeed said in the *Vita Ambrosiana* to have dedicated one of these poems to his son Daiphantus, but the circumstances are unknown. For the present, therefore, it is sufficient to call attention to these references, and to assign the ode provisionally to the more comprehensive class of the *Παρθένεια*, or possibly to the *κεχωρισμένα τῶν Παρθενείων* mentioned in the Ambrosian list and elsewhere. The obscurity of the latter category might have the advantage of covering the other poem partially preserved in the papyrus, which was also in honour of Aeoladas (l. 12), but, as is shown by the occurrence of a masculine participle (l. 11), was not designed for a female chorus. No doubt if both pieces were *Δαφνηφορικά*, the difference of sex would cause no difficulty; but in the absence of further allusions to *δάφνη* such an assumption has little to commend it. Perhaps this ode was an *ἐγκώμιον* or simply Epinician in character, and the juxtaposition of the two pieces was merely due to their identity of subject.

The metre of the *Παρθένειον* is distinguished, like its language, by an ease and simplicity which fully bear out the reputation of this class of Pindar's odes; cf. Dionys. Halicarn. *Demosth.* 39, where after citing the poetry of Aeschylus and Pindar as an example of want of connexion, abruptness, and



unexpected changes of construction, the critic proceeds *χωρὶς ὅτι μὴ τὰ Παρθένεια καὶ εἴ τινα τούτοις ὁμοίαι ἀπαιτεῖ κατασκευάς*· διαφαίνεται δέ τις ὁμοία κἂν τούτοις *εὐγένεια καὶ σεμνότης ἁρμονίας τὸν ἀρχαῖον φυλάττουσα πίνον*. Strophes and epodes consist alike of five verses having a prevailing choriambic element. The scheme is as follows:—

*Strophes.*

$\bar{\cup} \bar{\cup} - \cup \cup - \cup -$ ,  $\bar{\cup} - \cup -$   
 $- - - \cup \cup - \cup -$ ,  $\bar{\cup} - \cup -$  |  
 $- - \cup \cup - \cup -$   
 $- \bar{\cup} - \cup \cup - \cup -$  |  
 $- - \cup \cup - -$

*Epodes.*

$- \bar{\cup} - \cup \cup - -$   
 $- \cup - \cup \cup - \cup -$   
 $- - \cup \cup - -$  |  
 $- - - \cup \cup - \cup -$   
 $- - \cup \cup - -$

Lines 1 and 3 in the strophe, 1, (2) and 4 in the epode stand in synaphia with the lines succeeding; and a single long syllable before or after a choriambus is probably to be regarded as lengthened by 'syncope' to the extent of an additional short syllable, e.g.  $- - \cup \cup - - = \bar{\cup} - \cup \cup -$ , or  $- \cup - \cup \cup - \cup -$ . The commencement of each new strophe is marked in the original by an elaborate coronis, and the antistrophes and epodes are commonly denoted in the same way by paragraphi, which are, however, sometimes omitted. The metrical scheme shows that the number of lines missing at the tops of Cols. iii and iv must be either 8 or 23—a larger figure is out of the question. A loss of 8 lines would give a roll of the likely enough height of about 20 cm., and is a satisfactory supposition in other respects. Each column would accordingly consist of from 28–29 lines, and a lacuna of about 8 or 9 lines may therefore be postulated at the beginning of the first two columns. On this view the remains of the second poem extend to the second verse of the eighth strophe, or the 107th line from the commencement; the numeration given in the text below refers only to the lines actually preserved in the papyrus.

The length of the strophe of the first poem (Col. i and the lost portion of Col. ii) is also five verses; the epode was longer, how much longer depends upon the number of lines lost at the top of Col. ii. If it be assumed that no space was left between the end of this ode and the commencement of the next, as the analogy of the Bacchylides papyrus and 408 would indicate, the epode extended to the rather unexpected length of 14 verses; if on the other hand the division was marked by a blank space, this number would be lowered by two or three lines. A different figure would of course result from the adoption of the hypothesis that the loss in Cols. iii–iv amounts to 23 verses, which would bring down the epode of the previous poem to a maximum of 9 lines.

We append the scheme of the metre :—

<i>Strophes.</i>	<i>Epodes.</i>
υ υ — υ — — —	— — υ υ — υ υ —
υ υ — υ — υ υ —	— υ — — υ — — υ —
— υ υ — υ υ — υ — —	— υ — υ — —
υ υ — υ υ — υ υ — υ υ —	— — υ υ — υ υ — υ υ —
— υ — — υ — υ — υ —	— υ — — υ —
	· · · · ·
	— υ — υ — — (= 1. 5.)

Lines 4-5 in the strophe and 1-3 and 4-5 in the epode are connected by synaphia.

Col. i.

[ . . . . . 21 letters . . . . . ] . ω[.]  
 [ . . . . . ]  
 [ . . . . . ] OC[ . . . ] ΘΕΙΑΙCΕΡ  
 [ . . . . . ] ΔΙΔΙ  
 5 ↓ ΜΑΝΤΙCΩCΤΕΛΕ[.]CΩ  
 8- Π ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΟC· ΤΙΜΑΙ  
 ΔΕΒΡΟΤΟΙCΙΚΕΚΡΙΜΕΝΑΙ·  
 ΠΑΝΤΙΔΕΠΙΦΘΟΝΟCΑΝΔΡΙΚΕΙΤΑΙ  
 ΑΡΕΤΑC· ΟΔΕΜΗΔΕΝΕΧΩΝΥΠΟCΙ  
 10 ΓΑΙΜΕΛΑΙΝΑΙΚΑΡΑΚΕΚΡΥΠΤΑΙ·  
 ΦΙΛΕΩΝΔΑΝΕΥΧΟΙΜΑΝ  
 ΚΡΟΝΙΔΑΙCΕΠΑΙΟΛΑΔΑΠ  
 ΚΑΙΓΕΝΕΙΕΥΤΥΧΙΑΝΤΕΤΑΧΘΑΙ  
 ΟΜΑΛΟΝΧΡΟΝΟΝ· ΑΘΑΝΑΤΑΙΔΕΒΡΟΤΟΙC  
 15 ΑΜΕΡΑΙCΩΜΑΔΕCΤΙΘΝΑΤΟΝ·  
 ΑΛΛΩΙΤΙΝΙΜΗΛΙΠΟΤΕ  
 > ΚΝΟCΦΑΛΗΙΠΑΜΠΑΝΟΙΚΟCΒΙΑΙ  
 ΑΙΔΑΜΕΙCΑΝΑΓΚΑΙ  
 ΖΩΕΙΚΑΜΑΤΟΝΠΡΟΦΥΓΩΝΑΝΙΑ  
 20 ΡΟΝΤΟΓ[.]ΡΠΡΙΝΓΕΝΕ

. . . . . οC . . . . . θείαιC ερ-  
 . . . . . δια  
 5 μάντιC ὡC τελέ[σ]Cω  
 ἱεραπόλοC· τιμαὶ στρ.  
 δὲ βροτοῖCι κεκριμέναι·  
 παντὶ δ' ἐπὶ φθόνοC ἀνδρὶ κείται  
 ἀρετᾶC, ὁ δὲ μηδὲν ἔχων ὑπὸ Cι-  
 10 γᾶ μελαίνα κάρα κέκρυπται.  
 φιλέων δ' ἂν εὐχοίμαν ἀντ.  
 ΚρονίδαιC ἐπ' Αἰολάδα  
 καὶ γένει εὐτυχίαν τετάχθαι  
 ὀμαλὸν χρόνον· ἀθάναται δὲ βροτοῖC  
 15 ἀμέραι, σῶμα δ' ἐστὶ θνατόν.  
 ἀλλ' ὅτινι μὴ λιπότε- ἐπ.  
 κνοC σφαλῇ πάμπαν οἶκοC βιαί-  
 α δαμεῖC ἀνάγκη,  
 ζῶει κάματον προφυγὼν ἀνια-  
 20 ρόν, τὸ γ[ὰ]ρ πρὶν γενέ-[σθαι

## Col. ii.

-8 [ . . . . . ]ΧΡΥΣΟΠ[  
 [ . . ]ΔΩΜ[ . . ]ΛΕΣΗΤ[ . . ]ΜΕ . [  
 [ . . ]ΙΓΑΡΟ[ . . ]ΙΑC  
 [ . ]Ρ[ . ]ΦΡΩ[ . ]ΑΘΑΝΑΤΑΝΧΑΡΙΝ  
 25 ΘΗΒΑΙCΕΠΙΜΙΞΩΝ .  
 ΑΛΛΑΖΩCΑΜΕΝΑΤΕΠΕΠΛΟΝΩΚΕΩC  
 ΧΕΡCΙΝΤΕΝΜΑΛΑΚΑΙCΙΝΟΡΠΑΚΑΓΓΛΑΟΝ  
 ΔΑΦΝΑCΟΧΕΟΙCΑΠΑΝ  
 ΔΟΞΟΝΑΙΟΛΑΔΑCΤΑΘΜΟΝ  
 30 ΥΙΟΥΤΕΠΑΓΩΝΔΑ[Ι]  
 ΥΜΝΗCΩCΤΕΦΑΝΟΙCΙΘΑΛ  
 ΛΟΙCΑΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΟΝΚΑΡΑ .  
 CΕΙΡΗΝΑΔΕΚΟΜΠΟΝ  
 ΛΑΙCΚΩΝΥΠΟΛΩΤΙΝΩΝ  
 35 ↓ ΜΙΜΗCΟΜΑΟΙΔΑΪC .  
 ↑ ΚΕΙΝΟΝΟCΖΕΦΥΡΟΥΤΕCΙΓΑΖΕΙΠΝΟΑC  
 ΑΪΨΗΡΑC . ΟΠΟΤΑΝΤΕΧΕΙΜΩΝΟCΘΕΝΕΙ  
 ΦΡΙCΩΝΒΟΡΕΑCΕΠΙ  
 CΠΕΡΧΗCΩΚΥΑΛΟΝΤΕΠΟΝΤΟΥ  
 40 [ . ]ΠΑΝΕΤΑΡΑΞΕΚΑΙ

— — — χρυσοπ[επλ — — — στρ. α'  
 — δωμ — — — λέσης τ — — — με — — —  
 [ — ]ε[ι] γὰρ ὁ [Δοξ]ίας  
 [π]ρ[ό]φρω[ν] ἀθανάταν χάριν  
 25 Θήβαις ἐπιμίξων.  
 ἀλλὰ ζωσαμένα τε πέπλον ὠκέως ἀντ. α'  
 χερσίν τ' ἐν μαλακαῖσιν ὄρπακ' ἀγλαὸν  
 δάφνας ὀχέοισα πάν-  
 δοξον Αἰολάδα σταθμὸν  
 30 υἱοῦ τε Παγώνδα  
 ὑμνήσω στεφάνοισι θάλ- ἐπ. α  
 λοισα παρθένιον κάρα,  
 σειρήνα δὲ κόμπον  
 αὐλίσκων ὑπὸ λωτίνων  
 35 μιμήσομ' αἰοδαῖς,  
 κείνον δς Ζεφύρου τε σιγάξει πνοὰς στρ. β'  
 αἰψήρας, ὅπότεν τε χειμῶνος σθένει  
 φρίσσων Βορέας ἐπι-  
 σπέρχη πόντου τ' ὠκύαλον  
 40 [ρ]ιπὰν ἐμάλαξεν | καὶ

## Col. iii.

[ . . . . . ]ΦΕΝ[  
 [ . . . ]ΑCΙΚΜ[ . ]ΖΩΝΝΑ[  
 [ . . . ]ΛΑΜΕΝ[ . ]ΑΠΑΡΟΙΘ[  
 [ . ]ΑΙΔΑΛΟΙCΕΠΕCΙΝΤΑΔΑ[  
 45 ΖΕΥCΟΙΔΕΜΕΔΕΠΡΕΠΕΙ  
 ΠΑΡΘΕΝΗΙΑΜΕΝΦΡΟΝΕΙΝ  
 ΓΛΩCCAΙΤΕΛΕΓΕCΘΑΙ .  
 ΑΝΔΡΟCΔΟΥΤΕΓΥΝΑΙΚΟCΩΝΘΑΛΕCΙΝΕΝ

— — — φεν — — —  
 — ασ — — —  
 [πολ]λὰ μὲν [τ]ὰ πάροιθ — — — στρ. γ'  
 [δ]αιδάλλοις ἔπεσιν· τὰ δ' ᾱ — — —  
 45 Ζεὺς οἶδ', ἐμὲ δὲ πρόπει  
 παρθενήϊα μὲν φρονεῖν  
 γλώσσα τε λέγεσθαι.  
 ἀνδρὸς δ' οὔτε γυναικὸς ὦν θάλεσσιν ἔγ- ἀντ. γ'



- ΚΕΙΜΑΙΧΡΗΜ[.]ΛΑΘΕΙΝΑΟΙΔᾶΝΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΟΝ·      κειμαι χρή μ[ε] λαθεῖν αἰοιδὰν πρόσφορον.  
 50 ΠΙΣΤᾶΔΑΓΑΣΙΚΛΕΙ      50 πιστὰ δ' Ἀγασικλ(έ)ει  
 ΜΑΡΤΥΧΛΥΘΟΝΕΣΧΟΡΟΝ      μάρτυς ἤλυθον ἐς χορὸν  
 ΕΣΛΟΙΣΤΕΓΟΝΕΥΣΙΝ      ἐσλοῖς τε γονεῦσιν  
 ΑΜΦΙΠΡΟΞΕΝΙΑΙCΙΤΙΜΑΘΕΝΤΑC      ἀμφὶ προξενίαισι τι-      ἐπ. γ'  
 ΤΑΠΑΛΑΙΤΑΝΥΝ      μαθεῖσιν τὰ πάλαι τὰ νῦν  
 55 ΤΑΜΦΙΚΤΙΟΝΕCΣΙΝ      55 τ' ἀμφικτιόνεσσιν  
 ΙΠΠΩΝΤΩΚΥΠΟΔΩΝΠΟ[.]      ἵππων τ' ὠκυπόδων πο[λυ-]  
 ΓΝΩΤΟΙCΕΠΙΝΙΚΑΙC·      γνώτοισ ἐπὶ νίκαις,  
 ΑΙCΕΝΑΙΟΝΕCΣΙΝΟΓΧΗ[.] . . . . . ] . AC      αἷς ἐν αἰόνεσσιν Ὀγχη[στοῦ κλυ]τᾶς      στρ. δ'  
 ΤΑΙCΔΕΝΑΟΤΙΤΩΝΙΑC . [.] . . . . . ]Α      ταῖς δὲ ναδὸν Ἰτωνίας ἀ[μφ' εὐκλε]ᾶ  
 60 ΧΑΪΤΑΝCΤΕΦΑΝΟΙCΕΚΟC      60 χαίταν στεφάνοις ἐκόσ-  
 ΜΗΘΕΝ· ΕΝΤΕΠΙCΑΙΠΕΡΙΠ[ ]      μηθεν, ἔν τε Πίσᾳ περι-

Col. iv.

- ΡΙΖΑΙΤΕ[      ρίζα τε — —  
 [.]ΜΝΟΝΑΝ[      [σε]μνὸν ᾗν — — — —  
 ΕΠΤΑΠΥΛΟΙC . [      — ἐπταπύλοισι[ν].  
 65 ΕΝΗΚΕΝΚΑΙΕΠΕΙΤ[.] . . . . . ]ΛΟC      65 ἐνήκεν καὶ ἔπειτα[α δυσμενὲς χά]λος      στρ. ε'  
 ΤΩΝΔΑΝΔΡΩΝΕΝΕ[.]ΝΜΕΡΙΜΝΑC      τῶνδ' ἀνδρῶν ἐνε[κε]ν μερίμνας σῶφρονος  
 ΓΩCCONΑΜΑΔΙΚΑC[.]ΙΔΟΥC      ἐχθρὰν ἔριν οὐ παλίγ-  
 Π[.] . ACΕΦΙΛΗ[.]Ν·      γλωσσον ἀλλὰ δίκας [δ]ιδούς  
 70 ΔΑΜΑΙΝΑCΤΑ[.] . . . [.]ΩΙΝΥΝΜΟΙΠΟΔΙ      70 Δαμαίνας πα[ί,] — — φ νῦν μοι ποδὶ ἀντ. ε'  
 CΤΕΙΧΩΝΑΓΕΟ[.]ΙΝΓΑΡΕ[.]ΦΡΩΝΕΨΕΤΑΙ      στείχων ἀγέο· [τ]ὴν γὰρ ε[ὔ]φρων ἔψεται  
 ΠΡΩΤΑΘΥΓΑΤΗΡ[.]ΔΟΥ      πρῶτα θυγάτηρ [ό]δοῦ  
 ΔΑΦΝΑCΕΥΠΕΤΑΛΟΥCΧΕΔ[.]Ν      δάφνας εὐπετάλου σχεδ[ὸ]ν  
 ΒΑΙΝΟΙCΑΠΕΔΙΛΟΙC·      βαίνοισα πεδίλοις  
 75 ΑΝΔΑΙCΙCΤΡΟΤΑΑΝΕΠΑ[ ]      75 ἂν Δαισιστρότα, ἂν ἐπά-      ἐπ. ε'  
 CΚΗCΕΜΗΔΕC[.] . . . ΛΑ[.]      σκησε μήδεσ[ι — — —  
 ΑΔΕΡ[.]ΑCΑ[.] . . . . . ]      ἀ δ' ἔρ . . ἄσᾶ — —  
 ΜΥΡΙΩΝΕ[.] . . . . . ]ΙC      μυρίων ἔ — — — —

↓ ΖΕΥΞΑ[. . . . . ]  
 80 ΤΜΗΝΥΝΝΕΚΤΑ[. . . . .] NACEMAC  
       |  
       ΔΙΨΩΝΤΕΑ[. . . . .] ΠΑΡΑΛΜΥΡΟΝ  
       Θ  
       ΟΙΧΕΣΧΟΝ· Ε[. . . . .]

ζεύξα[σα υ — — στρ. 5'  
 80 μὴ νῦν νέκτα[ρ ἰδόντ' ἀπὸ κρά]νας ἐμᾶς  
       διψῶντ' ᾱ υ υ — υ — παρ' ἀλμυρὸν  
       οἷχεσθον· ἔ — υ —

## Col. v.

. . . . .  
                   ]CMY[  
                   ]  
 85                ]  
                   ]  
                   ]NT . [  
           ]ΑΔΑΝ  
                   ]  
 90                ] . INAP  
                   ]  
           ]NOCTIEECTIAN  
           ]ΓΛΑΙΖΕΤΑΙ

— — — υ υ — ντ υ — ἐπ. ζ'  
 — υ — υ υ — αδαν  
 — — υ υ — —  
 90 — — — υ υ — ιν αρ-  
 — — υ υ — —  
 — — — υ υ — υ νος τί' ἐστίαν στρ. η'  
 — — — υ υ — υ ἀ]γλαῖζεται

## Fragments.

(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	
. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	
95 ]PH[	] . Θ[	[.]Δ[	] . [	
]AIT[	]CA[	ACTEI[	]CTAPAN[	
]AEID[	100 ]EOMOC[	105 NAIIO[	] . AIKO . [	
]Ω . [	]ENAIK[	PA[	. . . .	
. . . .	]TIC[	. . . .		
	. . . .			
(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)
110 ]ANT[	] . NA[	115 ]AT[	] . . .	120 . [
]NAT[	] .	]IT[	]N	H[
. . . .	] .	]H[	]O[	. . . .
	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	

(k)	(l)	(m)	(n)	(o)
· · ·	· · ·	· · ·	· · ·	· · ·
I[	]A!A[	125 [.]QIA[	]	]QMA! · [
T[	· · ·	↓ AΘA[	]	]
· · ·		<sup>-8-</sup> Ϝ ωTE[	]ANAH[	]
		CHPA[	]NA · [	]
		AYΞE! · [	· · ·	· · ·
		130 T[.] · [		
		· · ·		
(p)	(q)	(r)		
· · ·	· · ·	· · ·		
]	]ΩKPEO · [	] · · [		
]KP · [	] · ΔANNA · [	]ΔOΞ[		
135 ]MO[	]	140 ]N · [		
· · ·	]	· · ·		
	· · ·			

1-4. At the top of this column considerable difficulties arise with regard to the place of the two fragments (a) and (b), which appear in this position in Plate III. Fr. (b) especially looks as if it should be put here, for the tops of the letters TIC in the fifth line exactly suit *μάντις*. But the letters on the verso cannot be made to fit in as they should with the last lines of the extant epigram of Antipater; cf. note on 662. 18-20. The two fragments cannot well be placed higher up, since the column on the verso appears to be complete. We are therefore reduced to the alternatives either of supposing that the papyrus had new readings in the last three lines of the epigram or that the fragments come from a previous column; they do not belong to a later column because the colour of the papyrus and the size of the letters on the verso is inconsistent with Col. ii, and the verso of the rest is blank at the top. Neither of these alternatives is satisfactory, but the latter is the safer. The question, however, is not of great importance, for the first few lines of the column would in any case hardly be capable of restoration without the assistance of the metre.

11. 5-20. '...I will fulfil like a prophet-priest. The honours of mortals are diverse, but every man has to bear envy of excellence, while the head of him who has nought is hidden in black silence. And in friendly mood would I pray to the children of Cronus that prosperity of unbroken duration be decreed for Aeoladas and his race; the days of mortals are deathless, but the body dies. But he whose house is not reft of offspring and utterly overthrown, stricken by a violent fate, lives escaping sad distress; for before...

7. *κεκριμένοι*: cf. *Nem.* vi. 3 *διείργει δὲ πᾶσα κεκριμένα δύναμις*.

12. At the end of this line is a Π with a dot or small o between the two upright strokes, like the abbreviation of *πολύς* or *πόλις*. The surface of the papyrus is damaged immediately after the Π and one or two more letters may have followed. It is difficult



to see what can have been meant, for neither sense nor metre requires any word between Αἰολάδα and καί; cf. l. 61, note.

13. The dipole-shaped marginal sign which appears in the facsimile opposite this line really belongs to l. 17; the small fragment containing it was wrongly placed when the photograph was taken. For another case of the use of an Aristarchean symbol in a non-Homeric papyrus cf. 442. 52.

14-5. The meaning is that, though the individual dies, the race is perpetuated.

17. There are spots of superfluous ink about the letters ΟΙΚΟ, creating rather the appearance of an interlinear insertion in a smaller hand; K was perhaps corrected. Another blot occurs above KAMATON in l. 19.

21-4. A fresh ode begins at l. 21, the change being marked in the margin by a symbol of which vestiges appear opposite this line and the next. The name of the person to whom the poem was dedicated and its occasion may have been added, as in the Bacchylides papyrus. The small fragment placed at the top of this column and containing parts of ll. 22-4 is suitable both with regard to the recto and the verso (cf. 662. 39-40, note), but its position can hardly be accepted as certain. None of the remaining fragments can be inserted here, their verso being blank. For [π]ρ[ό]φρ[ω]ν, a favourite word of Pindar, cf. e.g. *Pyth.* v. 117 θεὸς δέ οἱ τὸ νῦν τε πρόφρων τελεῖ δύνασιν.

ll. 23-40. 'For Loxias . . . of his favour pouring upon Thebes everlasting glory. But quickly girding up my robe and bearing in my soft hands a splendid laurel-branch I will celebrate the all-glorious dwelling of Aeoladas and his son Pagondas, my maidenly head bright with garlands, and to the tune of lotus pipe will imitate in song a siren sound of praise, such as hushes the sudden blasts of Zephyrus and, when chilling Boreas speeds on in stormy might, calms the ocean's swift rush . . .'

30. After ΠΑΓΩΝΔΑ an I seems to have been smeared out, but the appearance of I may be merely due to a blot; cf. note on l. 17.

33. σειρήνα δὲ κόμπον . . . ὅς Ζεφύρον, κ.τ.λ.: cf. Schol. on Homer, *Od.* μ. 168-9 (γαλήνη ἔπλετο νηνεμὴ κοίμησε δὲ κύματα δαίμων) ἐντεῦθεν Ἑσίοδος καὶ τοὺς ἀνέμους θέλγειν αὐτὰς (sc. τὰς Σειρῆνας) ἔφη.

34. ΛΑΙΣΚΩΝ is apparently a mistake for αὐλίσκων; cf. *Ol.* iv. 2 ὦραι ὑπὸ ποικιλοφόρμιγγος αἰοιδᾶς ἐλίσσόμεναι. The initial Λ could equally well be Δ but hardly Ν, nor does ναῖσκων give so good a sense.

37. Μ of ΧΕΙΜΩΝΟC has been altered from Ν.

38-9. φρίσσω Βορέας: cf. *Pyth.* iv. 81 φρίσσοντας ὄμβρους which a scholiast explains φρίσσειν ποιούντας. ΕΠΙCΠΕΡΧΗC is a mistake for ΕΠΙCΠΕΡΧΗΙ; cf. for the word *Od.* ε. 304 ἐτάραξε δὲ πόντον, ἐπισπέρχουσι δ' ἄελλαι. We transpose ὠκύαλον and πόντον on account of the metre though this change does not effect an absolute correspondence, ———— — taking the place of ———— —. ὠκύαλος ῥιπή occurs in Opp. *Hal.* 2. 535.

40. The sense seems to require the substitution of ἐμάλαξεν for the ΕΤΑΡΑΞΕ of the papyrus; cf. Fr. 133 (probably Pindar) of the *Adespoia* in Bergk, *Poet. Lyr.* ἐπερχόμενόν τε μαλάζοντας βίαιον πόντον ὠκείας τ' ἀνέμων ῥιπᾶς. The displacement of ἐμάλαξεν by ἐτάραξεν would be easy in such a context; cf. the passage from *Od.* ε quoted in the note on ll. 38-9. ΚΑΙ belongs to the next line.

42. The reading of this line is difficult. There is a stroke passing through the middle of K to I and another above the K, and perhaps this letter or both I and K were to be cancelled. The facsimile rather suggests that Θ was first written in place of IK, but that is deceptive. The doubtful Z may be Ξ. The dot which appears above the first N is very likely the tip of a letter like P or Φ from the line above.

43-61. 'Many are the deeds of old that might be adorned with verse, but the knowledge of them is with Zeus; and for me maidenly thoughts and choice of speech are meet. Yet for no man nor woman to whose offspring I am devoted must I forget a fitting song, and as a faithful witness have I come to the dance in honour of Agasicles and his noble parents, who for their public friendships were held in honour in time past, as now, by their neighbours, and for the renowned victories of swift-footed steeds, victories which decked their locks with crowns at the banks of famed Onchestus or by Itonia's glorious shrine and at Pisa...'

44. Cf. Pindar, *Nem.* xi. 18 μελιγδούποισι δαιδαλθέντα μελιζέμεν ἀοιδαῖς. The A of TA was altered apparently from O.

46-7. μέν . . . τε: cf. e.g. *Ol.* vi. 88-9 πρῶτον μέν . . . γυνῶναί τ' ἔπειτ'.

49. ἀοιδὸν πρόσφορον: the phrase recurs in *Nem.* ix. 7.

50. The alteration of ΑΓΑΣΙΚΛΕΙ to Ἀγασικλέει is necessary for the metre. Who this Agasicles was is obscure; perhaps he was the παῖς ἀμφιθαλῆς who ἄρχει τῆς δαφνηφορίας according to the account of Proclus *ap.* Photius *Bibl.* 239, or he may merely have been some member of the family of Aeoladas. The rather abrupt way in which his name is introduced and the context in which it occurs might suggest that a third poem commenced in Col. iii, a supposition which would be strengthened if the loss at the tops of the columns were extended by another fifteen lines (cf. introd.). But the hypothesis of two consecutive odes in the same metre would require to be justified by stronger evidence than that supplied by the passage before us. For πιστὰ μάρτυς cf. *Pyth.* i. 88, and xii. 27 πιστοὶ χορευτῶν μάρτυρες.

53. τιμαθεῖσιν: ΤΙΜΑΘΕΝΤΑC the papyrus, and the accusative may possibly have been justified by the sequel; but as the passage stands τιμαθεῖσιν τὰ πάλαι οἱ τιμαθέντεσσι πάλαι seems an improvement, though the accumulation of datives is not elegant. In any case the division of the lines is wrong, as in ll. 40-1 and 66-7. For the language cf. *Isth.* iii. 25-6 τιμάντες ἀρχᾶθεν λέγονται πρόξενοί τ' ἀμφικτιόνων. It is noticeable that the papyrus has the spelling ἀμφικτίονες which was restored to the text of Pindar by Boeckh in place of the MSS. reading ἀμφικτύονες.

58. κλυτῆς is by no means certain. The letter before AC is possibly T, but more of the crossbar should be visible.

59. ναόν is a necessary correction of the papyrus reading NAOT.

61. The metre is complete at περι-, and probably the lines were wrongly divided again — unless indeed the same addition was made as at the end of l. 12.

64-76. '... to [Thebes] of the seven gates. Then jealous wrath at so just an ambition of these men provoked a bitter unrelenting strife, but making full amends was changed to friendship. Son of Damaena, come, lead on now with [propitious?] foot; gladly upon thy way she first shall follow thee stepping with her sandals nigh upon the thick-leaved laurel, the daughter whom Daesistrota and ... perfected with counsel...'

64. Another disturbance in the metre has occurred in this line, which will not scan with ἑπταπύλοισι as the first word. The vestiges before the lacuna suggest a round letter like Ε or Θ, and ΕΠΤΑΠΥΛΟΙCΘΗΒΑΙC, e.g. may have been written for Θήβαις ἑπταπύλοισιν. But it is just possible to read ΕΠΤΑΠΥΛΟΙCΙ[N, and to suppose that the missing syllable at the beginning of the line was transposed to l. 63.

65. The first N of ΕΝΗΚΕΝ is rather cramped; but the writing becomes smaller and more compressed in this column.

66. The transference of σῶφρονος to this line is necessary *metri gratia*. For μέριμνα in

the sense of ambition for distinction in the games cf. e.g. *Ol.* i. 109-11 *θεὸς ἐπίτροπος ἔων τεαῖσι μῆδεταί . . . ἱέρων μερίμναισιν.*

67. Γ opposite this line marks the 300th verse; cf. 448. 302 and other Homeric papyri. With an average column of 28-9 lines (cf. introd.) this would be the eleventh column of the roll.

The reading *ἐχθρὰν ἔριν* is fairly satisfactory, though ΝΕ hardly fills the space between the Α and Ρ.

69. With *π[ισ]τάς* the letters ΙCT must be supposed to have been very close together; cf. note on l. 65.

70. Here again is a difficulty. There is no sign of the second leg of Π in ΠΑ[.] and a Τ would in some respects be more satisfactory, but on the other hand the space between this letter and Α is more consistent with a Π. The name *Δάμωνα* has no authority, but is in itself unobjectionable, standing in the same relation to *Δάμων* as *Λέαινα* to *Λέων* or *Τρύφαινα* to *Τρύφων*. The person addressed may be Aeoladas or Pagondas, but his identity is of course quite obscure. With regard to the mutilated adjective agreeing with *ποδί*, immediately following the first lacuna is a vertical stroke (not very clear in the facsimile) with an angular base, which might be the second half of a Ν or the lower half of a letter like Ι or Τ; in the latter case two letters might be lost in the lacuna. The vertical stroke is not long enough for ρ, so *πά[τε]ρ* is excluded. The next letter could be an Α or Λ, but the traces on the papyrus are very indistinct, and there may have been a correction. If *πα[τ]* is right the succeeding word must begin with a short vowel, unless indeed *πά[ι]* is read as a disyllable; *πάις* has been conjectured in *Ol.* ii. 84. *ἐλευθέρω* is unsuitable; *ἐναισίμω* might do.

73. CXED[.]N: the facsimile is again deceptive, transforming the X into Ε and Ε into C. There might be room for two narrow letters between Δ and Ν, but *σχεδ[ό]ν* is hardly to be avoided, though *δάφνας εὐπετάλου σχεδ[ό]ν βαίνοισα* is not very satisfactory.

75. *Δαισιστρότα* is another name for which no authority can be cited, but it is quite a possible form, *στροτός* being the Boeotian for *στρατός*. Whether the reference is to a goddess or a woman is doubtful. A second name must have followed in l. 76; cf. ll. 80-2, note. For the anaphora of the relative cf. the reading of some MSS. in Pindar, Fr. 75. 10 *ὃν (v. l. τὸν) Βρόμιον ὃν (v. l. τὸν) Ἐριβόαν τε βροτοὶ καλέομεν*. The Α of the second AN is more like Λ. *ἐπασκῆιν* is a Pindaric word; cf. *Nem.* ix. 10 *ἐπασκήσω κλυταῖς ἥρωα τιμαῖς*, and Fr. 194. 4.

80-2. 'Do not when in sight of the nectar from my spring go thirsty away to a salt stream.' *νέκτα[ρ]* seems right, though the Τ is not very satisfactory, the length of the vertical stroke rather suggesting Ρ; Τ, however, is an irregular letter. Cf. for the metaphor *Ol.* vii. 7-9 *καὶ ἐγὼ νέκταρ χυτὸν, Μοισᾶν δόσιν, ἀεθλοφόροις ἀνδράσιν πέμπων, γλυκὺν καρπὸν φρενός, ἰλάσκομαι*. The persons addressed are presumably the two named in ll. 75-6, the masculine form of the dual being used of a feminine subject as e.g. in Soph. *O. C.* 1113, 1676. In l. 81 the original reading *διψῶντ(ε)* seems preferable to the correction or variant *διψῶντ(ι)* since there is no certain instance in Pindar of the latter elision; but of course the question cannot be decided without the following words: *διψῶντ(ι) ἀδύ*, e.g., would give a good sense. It is noticeable that in the next line, though the substitution of Θ for the second X is necessary, the X has not been crossed out.

Frs. (α) and (δ). On the position of these two fragments see note on ll. 1-4.

Fr. (η) 128. CHPA[ ] is very intractable, leading only to Σήρ or σήραγξ in some form; but the first letter is plainly C and not Θ.

Fr. (ρ) 140. Above Ν to the right is a mark like a grave accent.



## 660. PAEAN.

Fr. (a) 13.1 x 9 cm.

Two fragments, each from the top of a column, which is probably though not certainly one and the same, containing part of what is evidently a Paean. The lines seem to be rather long, and it is hardly possible to make out the sense or to discern in whose honour the paean was composed. Neither is there much clue to the identity of the author; but Blass points out that, while *ἀττοῖσα* (l. 8) indicates a lyric poet, the form *νέας* for *νᾶας* is decisive against Pindar or Bacchylides. Perhaps the piece may be attributed to Simonides, but a later date is not impossible.

The text is written in a good-sized, but not very regular, round uncial hand, which we should place near the end of the first or early in the second century. A high stop is used, and breathings, accents, and marks of quantity are added not infrequently, all being due to the original scribe.

Fr. (a)			Fr. (b)
	[. .] . [. . .] χεοδ[. .] ν ἀπεῖράτ[	]ον εσσεσθ[αι	
	ξας· ιεπαιηον αναρσιων τ[	] άμμορον [	
	οιστων δούρων τε σιδᾶρο[	]μων φα[	
	βρίσει νέας αἶθεων μάλιστ[	] . χορων δ[	
5	ἡ πολεμονδε κορυσσομε[ν	]ωμενοι[	
	θεσπεσιας δ ἀπο κνισας μ[	]ομενο[	
	κ[. . . .] πολλακισ Πυθοι π[		
	ᾗ μιν ταυτ' αἰοῖσα γναμψε[ι		
	εσσομ[ε]νου δ' υεος ου μελλε . [		
10	[ιε]παιασι[ι]ν· συν αλῖοι τριτα[		
	[ιε]παιασιν α . χεν . . ουλα . [		
	[. .]ος· αυτικα δε σκοπιᾶς οἱ [		
	[. .]ντο μεταχρονιαι . [		
	[. .]νοντι . γαν εραταν [		
15	[ιε]παίαν δ αρα νυκτα κ[		
	[μα]ρτυραμεναι δ[.]κ[		
	[. .]ας· ἱεπα[ιηο]ν· [		
	[. .]ω πρω[. . .]έ[		

[. .]ν στολ[  
 20 [. .] . ονα[  
 [. . .] βροτο[  
 [. .] . χρύς[  
 [. . .] αοιδ[  
 [. .] ακυν[  
 25 [. . .] ος· ἱε[παιηον

1-6. The small fragment does not seem to join on directly to the larger, for though that position works well in the first three lines—*ἀπειρατ|ον, τ (τ')|αμμορον, σιδαρ|το]μων*—difficulties arise in the remainder. In l. 4 *χρων* is possible, but not, we think, *χορον*; the letter before *χ* is probably *η*, *ι*, or *ν*, but not *α*. In l. 5 the doubtful *ω* might possibly be *ν*, but *κορυσσομε[νω]ν* could not be got into the space if there was no gap in ll. 1-2, nor could *μ[ελδ]ομενο[* (cf. Homer, *Il.* xxi. 363) be read in l. 6. On the other hand it is not easy to reconstruct ll. 1-2 on the hypothesis of a loss between the two fragments of only one or two letters. In l. 2 there appears to be something above the *α* of *αμμορον* besides the accent and it is perhaps intended for a smooth breathing, but the effect is rather that of a sign of short quantity. *μ[* in l. 6 may be *α[* or *λ[*.

7. Πυθοι π[ : or πυθοιτ . [ ?

11 sqq. There is some uncertainty with regard to the number of letters lost at the beginnings of the lines. In l. 10 two letters are required before *παιασ[ι]ν*, and since there are three other instances of *ιεπαιαν* or *ιεπαιηων* in the fragment [*ιε*] *παιασιν* can hardly be avoided. In l. 11 there is rather less room, but something must have stood before *παιασιν*, and if the column leaned slightly to the right there would not be much difficulty in getting [*ιε*] into the space. [*μα*] *ρτυραμεναι* in l. 16 also looks very probable; and if that be right, there must be two letters missing at the commencement of the preceding and following lines.

11. Possibly *αυχειν . ου* or *αυχενα[.]ου*.

13. *μεταχρόνιαι*: cf. Hesiod, *Theog.* 269 *μεταχρόνιαι γὰρ ἱαλλον* (of the Harpies), where *μεταχρόνιαι* is explained as equivalent to *μετέωροι*.

## 661. EPODES.

14.1 × 16.4 cm.

PLATE V.

This fragment contains the beginnings and ends of lines from two columns of Epodes in the Doric dialect. Iambic trimeters alternate with trochaic verses of half their own length. Archilochus, the father of this style of poetry, cannot of course be the author on account of the dialect; and Blass considers that the piece may be attributed to Callimachus, who appears to have





3. The corrector apparently wished to alter *αριω μενος* to *αγριαι μενος*, but the *ω* is not crossed through. Blass suggests *θη]ρος αγριω μενος*, and notes that in *Anth. Pal.* xii. 162. 1 οὐπω τοξοφορῶν οὐδ' ἄριος the same corruption or the same word occurs.

9. The plural *Παλαιμονες* means sea-gods.

16. *ποτας* is for *ποττάς*, i. e. *ποτὶ τὰς*.

17. ? *αμπυριξα[ς*, but the vestiges of the letter following *ξ* do not suggest *α*, though that letter cannot be said to be impossible. *τυχαμ πυριξ* . . gives no sense.

19. *πυλεπ[* is a *vox nihili*: the letters are all quite clear.

24. *η* = *η̃*, as the punctuation shows; but the apparent use of the singular form with a plural subject is peculiar. The deleted letters are crossed through and besides have dots over them. *ν* above *υ* might be read as *λι*, but that is less likely.

26. Above the *ι* of *αὐθι* is a small circular mark which seems to be accidental. A high point might be recognized after *ερριψαν*.

27. *κατάγρ[* may be *κατάγρ[η* = *καθήρει*, but then the preceding word should be a noun, and it is difficult to find anything suitable. The *β* above the deleted *κ* is almost certain, and the vestiges of the first letter of the line strongly suggest *π*, which leaves us with *π[α]ρβαλον* or *π[υ]ρβαλον*.

## 662. EPIGRAMS.

12.8 × 49 cm.

These epigrams, some of which are extant, others new, are written in three columns on the verso of the papyrus containing the new Pindar fragments, 659. The first column, of which only the ends of lines are preserved, comprises two epitaphs of Leonidas (of Tarentum) and Antipater of Sidon, which already exist in the *Anthology* (= *Anth. Pal.* vii. 163, 164). These are succeeded in Col. ii by two poems ascribed to Amyntas, one upon the same Samian woman Prexo who is the subject of the first two epigrams and of another in the same style by Antipater or Archias (*Anth. Pal.* vii. 165), the second upon the capture of Sparta by Philopoemen in B.C. 188. Of Amyntas nothing whatever is known apart from this papyrus; the historical allusions of the second poem and the identity in subject of the first with the similar epitaphs of Leonidas and Antipater warrant the conclusion that he also flourished in the second century B.C. The third column contains two new dedicatory epigrams composed for a certain Glenis by Leonidas and Antipater respectively, with the first two words of another which was left unfinished, apparently again by Leonidas.

The copyist, who wrote an irregular uncial hand, was a careless and unintelligent person, and there are frequent mistakes and corruptions, while a dislocation of the lines has apparently occurred at the top of Col. ii. The date of this text seems to be not much later than that on the recto, and probably it falls within the reign of Augustus like the majority of the papyri with which

it was found. Accents and stops are of rare occurrence ; a double point is once used in a dialogue (l. 11). The negligence of the writer and the discolouration of the papyrus render decipherment a matter of some difficulty.

## Col. i.

- [  
*Λέωνιδου*  
 [τις τινος εὔσα γυναι Παριην υπο κ]έιονα κ[ι]σαι  
 [Πρηξω Καλλιτελεὺς και ποδ]απη Σαμιη  
 [τις δε σε και κτερειξε Θεοκρ]ιτος ω με γεγωνες  
 5 [εξεδοσαν θνησκεις δ εκ τινος] εκ τ[ο]κετου  
 [εὔσα ποσων ετεων δυο κεικοσι]ν η ρα γ ατεκνος  
 [ουκ αλλα τριετη Καλλιτελην ελι]πον  
 [ζῶοι σοι κεινος γε και ες βαθυ] γηρας ικοιτο  
 [και σοι ξεινε ποροι παντα Τυχ]η τα καλα  
 10 [*Αντιπατρου*  
 [φραξε γυναι γενεην ονο]μα χθονα : Καλλιτελης μεν  
 [ο σπειρας Πραξω δ ουνομ]α γη δε Σαμος  
 [σαμα δε τις τοδ εχωσε Θεο]κριτος ο πριν αθικτα  
 [αμετερας λυσας αμματα παρθ]ενιαν  
 15 [πως δε θανες λοchioισιν εν] αλγεσιν ειπε δε ποιαν  
 [ηλθες ες ηλικιην δισσακι]ς ενδεκετις  
 [η και απαις ου ξεινε λελ]οιπα γαι εν νεοτατι  
 [Καλλιτελη . . . . .] . τιε νη[πιαχον]  
 [ελθοι ες ολβιστην πολιην] τριχ[α και σον οδ]ιτα  
 20 [ουριον ιθυνοι παντα Τυχη βιοτον]

## Col. ii.

*Αμυντου*

- αυχμαλεας νοπ[.] . ον υπ οφρνος ανθεσι δακρυ  
 ν[.]λων ενβα[.]σεις ψ[.] . ρο[.]απης σπιλαδι  
 φραξε γυναι τις εὔσα κ[α]ι εκ τινος ειπε τε πατρην  
 25 νη[.]οιας εθανες νουσου υπ αργαλης  
 ουνομα κεν Πραξω Σαμιη ξενε εκ δε γονηος

Καλλιτελεὺς γενομὰν ἀλλ' ἐθανὸν τοκετῶ·  
 τις δὲ ταφὸν σταλῶσε Θεοῦκριτος ἡ μὲ συνευνὸν  
 ἀνδρὶ δόσαν ποιήν δ' ἡλθες ἐς ἡλικίην  
 30 ἐπταετὶς τρις ἐνὸς γενομὰν ἐτι ἡ ρα γ' ἀτεκνὸς  
 οὐ Καλλιτελῆς τριετῇ παιδὰ δομῶ λιπομὰν  
 Ἀμυντοῦ  
 τὰς πέσαρος ἀτρεστὸν Λακεδαιμόνα τὰς κερα μούνας  
 πολλακὶς ἀν' πόλεσι δ[η]ρίν ἐφρίξεν Ἀρης  
 35 νῦν ὑπ' ἀνικατῶι Φιλοποιμένι δούρι τ' Ἀχ[α]ῖων  
 πρηνῆς ἐκ τρισσᾶν ἠρίπε μυριαδὰν  
 ἀσκεπὸς οἰωνοὶ δὲ περιζύμυχρον ἰδόντες  
 μύρονται πεδίον δού . ἐ[. . .]φῆσιπος  
 [κ]απνὸν δ' ἐκθρῶσ[κοντα] . ἐρεη[.] . [.]ο λοετροὶς  
 40 [.]δας δερκομένα[. . . . . α]κροπό[λ . .]

Col. iii.

Λεωνιδου  
 Ακρωριται Πανι και ενπα[. . . . .] νυμφαις  
 [Γ]λημης ο συγγειτων δωρα κ[υνηγεσι]ης  
 τ  
 τανταν τε προτομαν και δι[. . . . .]ησ . [.]ι  
 45 βυρσαν και ροθιους τουσ[δ ανεθηκε] προδας  
 Παν ω και νυμοι τονδ[. . . . .] αγ[ρ]ευτηρα  
 Γληνιν αξησαιθ αιεδ[. . . . .]ς  
 Αντιπατρο[υ  
 σιλαινων αλοχοις αντρηισιν ηδε κερασται  
 50 τασδ Ακρωριται Πανι και ηγεμονι  
 και προτομαν ακμητα και αυτο νεον τοδε καπρου  
 δερμα το μηδ αυτω ρηγνυμενον χαλυοι  
 Γληνις ανηερτησε καλας χαριτησ[ιο]ν αγρας  
 δεικνυς ιφθιμου κουρος Ογαφαν[.]ς  
 55 Α[εω]νι[δ]ου  
 δρυμνονομου



## Fragments.

	• • •		• • •
(a)	] • [	(b)	60 ]απ • [
	]κα[		]νευγο[
	]σλ[		]
	• • •		• • •

4. γεγωνες (or τεγωνες) is for γονῆες.

12. Πραξω: so l. 26; Πρηξώ MSS. But the spelling of the papyrus is too inconsistent to merit much attention. Thus we have in a single epigram *αυχμαλεas* and *αργαλεης* (ll. 22, 25), *ποιας* and *ποιην* (ll. 25, 29); η however tends to predominate after a vowel or ρ in the epigrams of Amyntas, α elsewhere.

14. παρθ]ενιαν: l. παρθενίας or -ης.

17. The ε above the line is clear enough, and the letter below is apparently ι and not ρ. γάρ is of course the right reading.

18–20. The question of the position of the two fragments (a) and (b) at the bottom of this column has already had to be considered in connexion with the text on the recto; cf. note on 659. 1–4. They might well be put here so far as the appearance of the papyrus and of the writing is concerned; but the letters will certainly not coincide with any known version of ll. 18–20. The scribe is far from being reliable no doubt, and something has evidently gone wrong in l. 18, which should be Καλλιτέλη τριετῇ παῖδ' ἔτι νηπίαχον. Before νη[πιαχον] however there is a clear ε; perhaps ετι ε or επε for ετι was written. τριχα and οδιτα being in their right places it is scarcely admissible to postulate a divergence from the ordinary reading in the intervening words. Combining the two fragments, καὶ σύ γ' ὁ[δ]ῖτα [οὔριον ἰθύνοισ — υ υ — βίον]ον would give an intelligible variant; but apart from the difficulty of reading σν and ]ον this also upsets νηπίαχον, with which the first line of Fr. (b) is inconsistent, and does not account for the space between τριχ[α] and και; moreover on turning to the recto the resulting readings αιτι[.]σαλ[, αειδεομοσ[, [.]ω . εναικ[ (cf. 659 Frs. (a), (b)) are, to say the least, unattractive. We therefore prefer to suppose that these fragments came earlier in the papyrus; they do not seem to belong to the lost half of this column.

22–3. These two very puzzling lines do not combine at all easily with what follows and may be displaced; perhaps, as Blass suggests, they belong to the next epigram, which is apparently defective at the beginning; cf. note on ll. 33–4. The construction would indeed be improved by a verb for εουσα in l. 24 to depend upon (as in the first line of Leonidas' epigram τίς τίνος εὔσα . . . κείσαι), but the word φράζε is the natural commencement (cf. l. 11 and *Anth. Pal.* vii. 165. 1 εἰπέ, γύναι, τίς ἔφες), and the participle is not unintelligible. With regard to the reading, in l. 22 the letter after νο may be γ, and there are traces of ink above ο which may indicate a correction; before ον is the end of a high cross stroke which would suit γ, σ or τ. νοτ[ε]ρον is just possible though not satisfactory, and would of course leave the line a syllable short. In l. 23 ενβλ[ could be read for ενβα[ and the following word is perhaps some form of ψυχρός; but there is hardly space for a letter between the (very doubtful) ο and the α (which may be another ο). The ψ might be φ. Blass suggests λείβων ἐμβλέψεις . . . , and this may well be right, but was certainly not written.

24–31. “Say, lady, who you are and who your father, and tell your country and of what grievous sickness you died.” “My name, sir, is Praxo of Samos, and I was the

daughter of Calliteles, but I died in childbirth." "Who set up the tomb?" "My husband, Theocritus, to whom they gave me to wife." "And what age did you reach?" "Thrice seven and one year old was I." "And were you childless?" "I left in my home a boy of three years, Calliteles."

24.  $\epsilon$  of  $\epsilon\kappa$  was converted from  $\iota$  and the letters  $\iota\nu\omicron$  have also been corrected.

25. l.  $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\pi\omicron\iota\alpha\varsigma$   $\acute{\epsilon}\theta\alpha\nu\epsilon\varsigma$ .  $\nu\eta\pi\iota\alpha\varsigma$  seems to have been originally written, the  $\pi$  being subsequently converted into  $\omicron$  and another  $\pi$  added above the line. Whether the initial  $\nu$ , of which only a slight vestige remains, was at the same time altered is doubtful owing to a hole in the papyrus.

26.  $\kappa\epsilon\nu$  is a mistake for  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ .

28. l.  $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\kappa\rho\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$   $\phi$ . Cf. ll. 15-6 above and *Anth. Pal.* vii. 165. 3-4  $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\kappa\rho\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$   $\delta\varsigma$   $\mu\epsilon$   $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\gamma\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu$   $\acute{\eta}\gamma\epsilon\tau\omicron$ .

31. The superfluous  $\omicron\nu$  at the beginning of the line is due to the analogy of the two previous epigrams: cf. ll. 7 and 17. l.  $\text{Καλλιτέλην}$ .

33-8 '... Sparta, of old the dauntless, at whose single-handed might Ares in war was many a time and oft terror-struck, is now cast headlong and defenceless by thrice ten thousand foes, beneath unconquered Philopoemen and the spears of the Achaeans; and the birds looking upon the smoking plain mourn...'

33-4. l.  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$   $\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\varsigma$  ...  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$   $\chi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$  ...  $\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\kappa\iota\varsigma$   $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\iota\nu$ . The last word is however very doubtful;  $\pi\omicron$  may be  $\tau\omega$  and  $\sigma$  may be  $\epsilon$ , while of the supposed  $\epsilon$  only a slight vestige of the base is left. Blass would retain  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  and read  $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\omega\nu$  or  $\pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ . A couplet has fallen out either before or after ll. 33-4, since there is nothing to govern  $\text{Λακεδαιμονα}$ . Perhaps, as suggested above, ll. 22-3 should come in here, though they do not seem particularly appropriate.

35.  $\delta'$  should perhaps be inserted after  $\nu\nu$ .

36. l.  $\mu\nu\rho\iota\acute{\alpha}\delta\omega\nu$ .

37.  $\zeta$  of  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\zeta\mu\chi\eta\rho\omicron\nu$  (=  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\sigma\mu\chi\eta\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu$ ) has been corrected.

38. The letters in the latter part of the line are much damaged; the  $\phi$  could equally well be  $\psi$ ,  $\epsilon\sigma$  may be  $\alpha\tau$  or  $\epsilon$ , and for the supposed  $\pi$ , which is not satisfactory,  $\iota$  should perhaps be substituted.

39-40. The letters  $\text{]}\epsilon\rho\epsilon\eta\text{[}$  and  $\text{]}\kappa\rho\omicron\pi\omicron\text{[}$  are on a detached fragment, the appearance of which decidedly points to the position here assigned to it. The contents of the recto create no difficulty (cf. 659. 21-4 note) and  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\acute{o}\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$  in some form fits the context in l. 40 very well; moreover above  $\rho$  of  $\text{]}\epsilon\rho\epsilon\eta\text{[}$  is the end of a long stroke descending from the line above, which just suits the  $\phi$  or  $\psi$  after the lacuna in l. 38. The cumulative effect of these considerations is undeniably strong.

42-7. 'To Pan of Acroria and the ... nymphs were dedicated as hunting-spoils by neighbour Glenis this head and ... hide and these swift feet. O Pan and ye Nymphs, prosper the doughty hunter Glenis...'

42.  $\text{Ἀκρώρεια}$  was the name of a mountain peak in Sicyon, and  $\text{Ἀκρωρείτης}$  is given by Steph. Byz. as a local epithet of Dionysus. The mutilated word before  $\nu\mu\phi\alpha\iota\varsigma$  was probably some adjective ending in  $-\iota\sigma\iota$  (cf. l. 49), but the space is very short for  $\underline{\upsilon}\underline{\upsilon}-\underline{\upsilon}\underline{\upsilon}$  as required by the metre, and a corruption may be suspected.

43. l.  $\text{Γλήμης}$  as in ll. 47 and 53. For  $\kappa[\nu\eta\gamma\epsilon\sigma\iota]\eta\varsigma$  cf. *Anth. Pal.* vi. 183. 2;  $\sigma[\nu\alpha\gamma\rho\epsilon\sigma\iota]\eta\varsigma$  (vi. 34. 4) could also be read.

44. The first  $\alpha$  of  $\tau\alpha\nu\tau\alpha\nu$  has been corrected, and to make the result clearer another  $\tau$  was added above the line.

45. Cf. *Anth. Pal.* vi. 34. 2 καὶ κάπρου τούσδε καθάψε πόδας. καθαψε might of course be read for ανεθηκε here, but the meaning would not be affected.

46. l. νύμφαι. ]ρευτηρα must be θηρευτήρα or ἀγρευτήρα; perhaps τόνδ' [ἄλκιμον ἀγ]ρευτήρα.

47. l. ἀεξήσαιτ' followed by something like αἰὲν ἄγραισι καλάϊς; but the remains of the letter after αἰε suggest δ, ζ, or ξ. Cf. *Anth. Pal.* vi. 158. 3-4 αὔξετε δ' αἰεὶ Πὰν ἀγέλην Νύμφαι πίδακα, and vi. 34. 5-6 ἀλλ' ὦ Πὰν σκοπιῆτα καὶ εἰς ὀπίσω Πολύαινον εὐαγρον πέμπουσ νῆα Σιμύλεω.

49-54. 'To the cave-dwelling mates of the Sileni and to horned Pan of Acroria their chief these trophies, a scathless head and new boar's hide, that not even steel may rend, were hung up to view as a thank offering for a goodly quarry by Glenis the son of noble Onasiphanes.'

49. l. Σιληνῶν.

50. l. ταῦτ' for τασδ.

51. ακμητα may be interpreted in the sense of 'uninjured' or 'permanent' on the analogy of πνλαὶ ἀκμητες in *Anth. Pal.* ix. 526 or may be regarded as an epithet which strictly applies only to the living animal (cf. *Soph. Antig.* 353 οὐρειὸν τ' ἀκμητα ταῦρον).

52. χαλυοι is for χάλυβι; cf. νυμοαι for νύμφαι in l. 46. The top of the o is missing, but β seems excluded.

54. l. Ὀνα(σι)φάνε[υ]ς?

56. l. δρυμονόμου or δρυμὸν ὁμοῦ. The rest of the epigram was never added.

### 663. ARGUMENT OF CRATINUS' ΔΙΟΝΥΣΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ.

19.8 × 12.3 cm.

Of all the lost Greek classics there are few of which the recovery would be of greater importance than the plays of Cratinus or Eupolis, and though the present fragment does not give any actual portion of Cratinus' works it nevertheless throws some interesting and much wished for light upon the plots of his comedies, about which almost nothing was known previously. It consists of the argument of the Διονυσαλέξανδρος, one of Cratinus' most famous plays, written in a small uncial hand in the late second century or the first half of the third. The title Διονυσαλέξανδρος η̄ (i.e. the 8th drama) Κρατείνου occurs, not where it would be expected at the end, but at the top of the last column, and is written in much larger uncials. What is meant by this comedy being called the '8th' is uncertain. Similar numbers are assigned to extant Greek plays in their arguments, e.g. the *Antigone* of Sophocles is the '32nd,' the *Alcestis* of Euripides the '17th,' the *Birds* of Aristophanes the '35th.' That the numbers refer to the chronological order is barely possible in the first two of these instances and impossible in the third; and in the case of the *Dionysalexandrus* also it is very improbable that the arrangement according to which that play was



the 8th was chronological. Körte would make it an alphabetical arrangement. As frequently happens in scholia, there are numerous abbreviations in the text of the argument. In most cases the last letter written of an abbreviated word is above the line; Ἑρμ(ῆς) in l. 5 and παραδοθησόμενο(ν) in l. 40 are written ερμ' and παραδοθησομενο'. καί takes various forms, κ' in l. 6, κς in ll. 9, 17, 33, and 43, ς in ll. 11 and 21. μ' for μέν occurs in ll. 7 and 38, and δ' for δέ in ll. 23 and 40. The high stop is occasionally employed. The MS. is not very accurate, corruptions occurring in two lines; cf. notes on ll. 8 and 12. The extant fragments of the Διονυσαλέξανδρος, apart from single words, number nine, and how little these and the title of the play served to indicate its contents may be judged from the fact that Meineke considered Ἀλέξανδρος to be Alexander the Great, and therefore wished to assign the play to the younger Cratinus. Kock on the other hand inferred from the common occurrence of well-known mythical personages in the titles of comedies that Alexander was the Trojan Paris, and favoured the authorship of Cratinus the elder. The acute hypothesis of Kock is now verified by the papyrus, which shows that Ἀλέξανδρος in the title is indeed the Trojan, and that the plot turned upon an amusing perversion of the story of the Trojan war, in which Dionysus played the part assigned in the legend to Paris. That the play was the work of the elder Cratinus is moreover proved by the note appended at the end, stating that Pericles was attacked for having been the cause of the war. The date of its performance is thus fixed to the year B.C. 430 or 429.

The earlier part of the argument, contained in the upper portion of Col. i and probably in a preceding column, is lost, and where the papyrus becomes intelligible it is describing the παράβασις (ll. 6-9). The chorus apparently consisted of satyrs in attendance upon Dionysus (cf. l. 42 and l. 6, note), and the action took place for the most part on Mount Ida. The παράβασις is followed (ll. 9-12) by a scene between the chorus and Dionysus, in which they mock at him, very likely on account of the guise in which he presents himself. Possibly Cratin. *Fr. inc.* 281 ποιμὴν καθέστηκ' αἰπόλος καὶ βουκόλος refers to this incident. Then comes (ll. 12-9) a parody of the judgement of Paris. Aphrodite, who promises to Dionysus that he shall be the most beautiful and most beloved person in the world, naturally is victorious. Dionysus next goes to Sparta and brings back Helen to Mount Ida (ll. 20-3). Upon the approach of the Achaeans they both take refuge in the house of the real Alexander, Dionysus turning himself into a ram and hiding Helen in a basket (ll. 23-33). It is easy to understand the boisterous fun to which this scene must have given rise. A glimpse of it is afforded by the familiar quotation from the *Dionysalexandrus* ὁ δ' ἡλίθιος ὥσπερ πρόβατον βῆ βῆ λέγων βαδίζει, which no doubt refers to Dionysus'

appearance in the character of a sheep. Alexander himself now comes on the stage, and detects the lovers; the denouement is that Helen remains with him as his wife, while Dionysus is sent off in disgrace to be delivered to the Achaeans, but accompanied by the faithful satyrs (ll. 33-44).

The papyrus concludes with the scholiast's remark already mentioned, showing that the play was directed against Pericles, who may well have been satirized in the principal character as Dionysus. Imperfect as it is, the argument well illustrates the perversion of familiar legends which seems to have been a favourite resource of the older comic poets, and of Cratinus in particular.

We are indebted to Prof. A. Körte for several suggestions on this papyrus.

## Col. i.

. . . . .  
[. . . . .].  
[. . . . .]ζητ( )  
[. . . . .]παν  
[. . . . .] αυτον μη  
5 [ . . . . .]ρ[.]ισιν ο Ερμ(ης)  
[ . . . . .]εται κ(αι) ουτοι  
μ(εν) πρ(ος) τους θεατας  
τινα πυων ποιη( )  
διαλεγονται κ(αι)  
10 παραφανεντα τού  
Διονυσον επισκω(πτουσι) (και)  
χλευαζουσιν) ο δ(ε) πα  
ραγενομενων αυτωι  
παρα μεν [Ηρας] τυραννιδος)  
15 ακινητου πα[ρ]α δ Αθηνας  
ευτυχι(ας) κ(α)τ(α) πολεμο(ν) της  
δ Αφροδι(της) καλλιστο(ν) τε κ(αι)  
επεραστον αυτον υπαρ  
χειν κρινει ταυτην νικαν  
20 μ(ε)τ(α) δε ταυ(τα) πλευσας εις  
Λακεδαιμο(να) (και) την Ελενην

## Col. ii.

Διονυσ[αλεξανδρος  
ἡ [   
Κρατ[εινου  
τον Αλεξαν[δ(ρον) κ(αι) την μ(εν) Ελενη(ν)  
30 εις ταλαρον ωσπ[ερ τυρον ?  
κρυψας εαυτον δ εις κριο(ν)  
μ(ε)τ(α)σκευασας υπομενει  
το μελλον· παραγενο  
μενος δ Αλεξανδ(ρος) κ(αι) φωρα  
35 σας εκατερο(ν) αγειν επι τας  
ναυς προ(σ)ταττει ως παραδωσων  
τοις Αχαιοι(ς) οκνουσης δε της  
Ελενη(ς) ταυτην μ(εν) οικτειρας  
ως γυναιχ εξων επικατεχ(ει)  
40 τον δ(ε) Διονυ(σον) ως παραδοθη  
σομενο(ν) αποστελλει συν  
ακολουθ(ουσι) δ οι σατυ(ροι) παρακαλουν  
τες τε κ(αι) ουκ αν προδωσειν  
αυτον φασκοντες κωμω  
45 δειται δ εν τῷ δραματι Περικλης  
μαλα πιθανως δι

εξαγαγων επανερχετ(αι)                      εμφασεως ως επαγειοχως  
 εις την Ιδην ακου(σας) δε(ε) με            τοις Αθηναιοις τον πολεμον  
 τ ολιγον τους Αχαιους πυρ  
 25 [πολ]ειν την χω(ραν) φ[ευγ(ει) προς

6 sqq. 'These (the satyrs) address the spectators on behalf of (?) the poet, and when Dionysus appears mock and jeer at him. Dionysus, being offered by Hera indestructible power, by Athena success in war, and by Aphrodite the prospect of becoming the most beautiful and most beloved of all, adjudges the victory to Aphrodite. Afterwards he sails to Lacedaemon, carries away Helen, and returns to Ida. Hearing soon after that the Achaeans are ravaging the country, he takes refuge with Alexander, and hiding Helen in a basket like a (cheese?) and turning himself into a ram awaits the event. Alexander appears and detects them both, and orders them to be led away to the ships intending to hand them over to the Achaeans; but when Helen objects he takes pity on her and keeps her to be his wife, but sends off Dionysus to be handed over. Dionysus is accompanied by the satyrs who encourage him and declare that they will not desert him. In the play Pericles is satirized with great plausibility by innuendo for having brought the war upon the Athenians.'

6. Perhaps απερχ]εται, as Körte suggests. ουτοι: sc. the satyrs (cf. l. 42), as Blass thinks. Though of course this is not a satyric play, there seems no reason why a chorus should not be composed of satyrs, especially in a comedy in which Dionysus is the chief character. The verbs in ll. 11-2 are very appropriate too to the satyrs, who occur in l. 42 as if they had been mentioned before.

8. πυν ποιη( ) is corrupt. Blass suggests υπερ του ποιη(του), which makes good sense but is a rather drastic change; cf. however the next note. Körte prefers π(ερι) των ποιη(των), which is nearer to the text of the papyrus.

12. παραγενομενων seems to be a mistake for some word like προτεινομένων. Körte suggests παραγελλομενων.

30. Perhaps ωσπ[ερ τυρον or ταριχ(ος); cf. Ar. Ran. 558-60 τὸ πολὺ τάριχος οὐκ εἴρηκά πω. μὰ Δί, οὐδὲ τὸν τυρόν γε τὸν χλωρόν, τάλαν, ὃν οὗτος αὐτοῖς τοῖς τάλαις κατήσθιεν. γάρων is also possible; cf. Crat. Fr. inc. 280 ὁ τάλαιος ὑμῖν διάπλεως ἔσται γάρων. Körte prefers ορνιν or χηνα, τάλαιον being the technical word in Athenaeus p. 122 for a bird-basket.

## 664. PHILOSOPHICAL DIALOGUE.

Height 29 cm.

Part of a philosophical dialogue on the subject, apparently, of government, one of the characters in which is no less a person than Pisistratus the tyrant of Athens. There remain in all portions of four columns, contained in two main fragments which do not join and of which the relative position has to be determined by internal evidence. In Fr. (a), the first column of which is complete, some one who speaks in the first person gives an account of his



movements at the time of the usurpation of Pisistratus. He had left Athens after that event took place and joined Solon in Ionia; subsequently at the instance of his friends, including Pisistratus himself, and on the advice of Solon, he returned to Athens and was there invited to the house of Hagnotheus, a relative of his own and grandfather of Thrasybulus son of Philomelus, a young man whose guardian he himself was. Of the second column we have no more than the first few letters of the lines; but in the lower part of it other speakers evidently intervened (l. 68 ἐ]φη ᾧ [l. 81 ὑπολαβώ[ν). Fr. (b), containing another nearly complete column, is also in dialogue form. Here the persons are, besides the narrator (ἐφην, ll. 7, 12), Pisistratus, Ariphron, and Adimantus, and the principal subject of conversation is the career of the tyrant Periander of Corinth, in whose company Ariphron professes that he and Adimantus had recently been, and whose misfortunes he proceeds to describe. Most probably Fr. (a) comes from near the beginning of the work, and the narrative portion of Col. i is introductory to the whole dialogue. How much, if anything, is lost between Col. ii and Col. iii (Fr. (b)) is of course quite uncertain, but it is improbable that there is any considerable gap. The anonymous narrator in Col. i will accordingly be the same person as the speaker in Col. iii. ll. 92-102; but the identity of this intimate friend (l. 13) of Pisistratus and sharer in the exile of Solon remains a puzzle. Ariphron is perhaps to be recognized as the grandfather of Pericles; and Thrasybulus, son of Philomelus, of whom it is here remarked (l. 29) that he was popularly supposed to be in love with the tyrant's younger daughter, is evidently the Thrasybulus of whom Plutarch tells the story (*Apophth. Reg. et Imp.*, p. 189 c, *de Ira Cohib.*, p. 457 f, cf. Val. Max. v. 1. 2) that he kissed the daughter of Pisistratus at a chance meeting, and that the latter instead of being angry gave him her hand in marriage. Polyaeus, who adds an episode of the abduction of the girl by her lover (*Strategem.* 5. 14), substitutes Thrasymedes for Thrasybulus, but agrees with our author as to the name of his father, Philomelus.

But who was the author of this dialogue? It is written in remarkably good Attic (except εἰς οἶκον for εἰς (τὴν) οἶκον in l. 40), and so far as the style is concerned it may be a product of the Aristotelian age. Blass, indeed, suggests that it might actually be attributed to Aristotle, with whom Pisistratus was a favourite figure. In support of such a view appeal could be made to certain resemblances in language between this fragment and the Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία—assuming the authenticity of that work:—compare e.g. ll. 3-6 (Σόλων) προλέγων Ἀθηναίοις ὅτι Πεισίστρατος ἐπιβουλεύει τυραννίδι πείθειν αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἦν δυνατός with *Ath. Pol.* 14. 2 ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ ἀγνοοῦσι Πεισίστρατον ἐπιτιθέμενον τυραν[νίδι] . . . ἐπεὶ δὲ λέγων [οὐκ ἐπει]θεν, ll. 8-9 ἀποδημίαν ἐντεῖθεν ποιησάμενος with *Ath. Pol.* 11. 1, 13. 1 ἀποδημίαν

ἐποιήσατο, ll. 23-4 διὰ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων κατάστασιν with *Ath. Pol.* 42. 1 ἡ νῦν κατάστασις τῆς πολιτείας, ll. 25-6 οὐδεὶς ἐπεδεδώκει πρὸς μεγαλοφύειαν with *Ath. Pol.* 37. 2 πολὺ πρὸς ὁμότητα (cf. l. 112) καὶ πονηρίαν ἐπέδοσαν; cf. also l. 115 τίνι ταύτῃ ἔφ[η] and *Arist. Fr.* 44 τί τοῦτ' ἔφη. But such coincidences are not very conclusive; and on the other hand these fragments do not conform to the normal type of Aristotelian dialogue, in which, as we know both from the allusions of Cicero (*ad Att.* iv. 16, xiii. 19) and his imitations, the leading part was taken by the philosopher himself. It will be safer then to leave the writer anonymous, though he may well be as early as the third or even fourth century B. C.

As will have been observed, this papyrus reopens some important questions of history and chronology, upon which some remarks are made in the commentary (notes on ll. 1-10, 106-9). If Solon went to Asia when Pisistratus became tyrant, his famous meeting with Croesus may have occurred then, and the 'beautiful myth' be after all a sober fact. The synchronism of the tyrannies of Pisistratus and Periander is another very interesting point, which with the testimony of Herodotus partly on the same side should not be dismissed too lightly. It is no doubt a question how far the setting of an imaginary dialogue can supply a basis for historical conclusions; but a comparison with such a work as Plutarch's *Symposium* is hardly fair to the present fragments, which may probably be regarded as an index to the average opinion of the day, and as such deserving of consideration, in spite of the conflict with the 'so-called systems of chronology, the contradictions of which a thousand correctors have not yet succeeded in harmonizing.'

The papyrus is written in tall columns measuring  $22 \times 7$  cm., in a round uncial hand rather resembling that of 412 (P. Oxy. III, Plate v), which dates approximately from the year 245 A. D.; the present example is more regular and graceful, but no doubt belongs to about the same period. A second hand has made one or two small corrections, and seems also to have added some at least of the paragraphi and stops. Of the latter all three kinds are found (middle at ll. 26, 38, 105, 153; low at l. 18); but they are not used with much discrimination. The double points, which as usual mark a change of speaker, also look more like the second hand than the first. The occasional diaereses, however, and marks of elision, as well as the angular signs sometimes employed for filling up a short line, are with little doubt by the original scribe.

(a)

Col. i.

Col. ii.

προτερον η Πισιστρατον λαβειν  
την αρχην απεδημησεν· επει

[θεωι  
[

δη προλεγων Αθηναιοις οτι  
 Πισιστρατος επιβουλευει τυ  
 5 ραννιδι πιθειν αυτους ουκ ην  
 δυνατος· εγω δε καταμεινας  
 ηδη Πισιστρατου τυρανν[ο]ν  
 τος αποδημιαν εντευθεν  
 ποιησαμενος εν Ἰωνιαι μετα  
 10 Σολωνος διετριβον· χρονωι  
 δε των φιλων σπουδαζον  
 των ηκειν με· και μαλιστα  
 Πισιστρατου δια την οικειο  
 τητα· Σολωνος κελευοντος  
 15 επανηλθον Αθηναζε κατε  
 λιπον μεν ουν ενταυθα παι  
 δα Θρασυβουλον τον Φιλο  
 μηλου· κατειληφειν δε μει  
 ρακ[ι]ον ηδη μαλα καλον καγα  
 20 θον και την οψιν και τον τρο  
 πον πολυ διαφεροντα των  
 ηλικιωτων τεταπεινωμε  
 νων γαρ των αλλων δια την  
 των πραγματων καταστασιν·  
 25 ουδεις επεδεδωκει προς με  
<sup>ει</sup>  
 γαλοφυαν· παντας δε ὑπερε  
 βαλεν ἵπποτροφιαις και κυ  
 νηγαις και ταις αλλαις δαπα  
 ν[αις] δ[ι]ε]βεβλητο δ εν τηι πο  
 30 λ[ε]ι της νεωτερας των του  
 του Πισιστρατου θυγατερων  
 εραν ἴδων αρρηφορουσαν·  
 Αγνωθεος ουν ο παππος αυ  
 του παρ ωι και τρεφομενος

λ[  
 φρ[  
 50 σϜ[  
 π[  
 λοι[  
 συν[  
 με[  
 55 ουδ[  
 του πατ[ρος  
 παρηγ[  
 γυν[  
 του[  
 60 θησ[  
 δια[  
 αυτω[  
 μετα[  
 τολμ[  
 65 τησ· [  
 του α[  
 ξεικ[  
 φη ω [  
 δρειαν[  
 70 χρον[  
 νειχετ[  
 ταγει[  
 εμ[  
 μη[  
 75 ραν[  
 κεματ[  
 κακεινη[  
 παινεν[  
 νησυμ[  
 80 ποδημι[α



35 ετυγχανεν ο Θρασυβουλος·  
 δια το του πατρος και της  
 μητρος ορφανον καταλει  
 φθηναι· τραχυνθεις τι μοι  
 δοκε[ι] προς αυτον καλει μ'  
 40 εις οικον· συγγενη τε αυτοις  
 οντα και καταλελειμμενον  
 επιτροπον υπο του Φιλομη  
 λου· καγω μαλα προθυμως  
 εβαδιζον και γαρ ην εν ηδο  
 45 νη μοι το συνδιατριβειν Αγνο

υπολαβω[ν  
 νηδ<sup>τ</sup>  
 γαρ η[  
 ρον . [  
 85 μη γ[  
 ταισα[  
 γουν [  
 [[οστ]]ει[  
 οσω[  
 90 αυτο[

(b)

Col. iii.

Col. iv.

μεν ουτως πιθανωι εοικεν  
 ει τοινυν εφην αληθη ταυτ [ε  
 στιν ουτ αν Περιανδρωι λυ  
 σιτελοιη μαλλον αρχειν η υ  
 95 φ ετερου α[ρχ]εσθαι· ουτ' αλλωι  
 ουθενι τω[ν] φαυλως αρχοντων·  
 δοκω γαρ α[υτ]ον εφην εν τοις  
 φιλτατοις [κομι]εισθαι τας αμαρ  
 τιας· τι γαρ [φιλ]τερον ανδρι  
 100 νουν εχο[ντι] πατριδος· και  
 [κ]ατα φυσιν [οι]κειων ανθρω  
 [π]ων : υπο[λαβ]ων ουν ο Αρι  
 [φ]ρων αλη[θη] νη Δι' εφη λε  
 [γ]εις· και βου[λ]ομεθα σοι μαρ  
 105 [τ]υρησαι εγω και Αδειμαντος  
 [ο]υτοσῖ παραγενομενοι νυνι  
 [Πε]ριανδρωι δια την ωμοτη  
 [τ]α μεγαλη πανν συμφοραι  
 [π]εριπεσοντι : και ο Πισιστρα  
 110 [τ]ος τινι ταυτηι εφ[η :] εγω ει

. .  
 αυ[  
 σθ[  
 λευ[  
 δετ[  
 140 εφα[  
 ναυ[

- [π]εν φρασω· προ τ[ου γαρ] Κυ  
 [ψε]λον τον Περιανδρ[ου π]ατε  
 [ρα] λαβειν την αρχη[ν εκ]ρα  
 [το]υν της πολεως ο[ι καλο]υ  
 115 [μ]ενοι Βακχυ[αδαι] συ[γγενεια]  
 [με]γαλη· λαβ[ον]τος [δε αυ]  
 [το]υ την αρχην το[υτων το]  
 [μεν] πληθος εφυγε τ[. . . . .]  
 [ . . . ]ιν ολιγο[ι] δε και[. . . . .]  
 120 [ . . . ]ειπ[ο]ν ουν υἱεις [ . . . . .]  
 [ . . . ]ενει[. . . ]τες . α[. . . . .]  
 [ . . . ]ρχον[. . . ]μεραι[. . . . .]  
 [ . . . ]ενηι θ[. . . ]ντες εσ[. . . . .]  
 [ . . . ]ωι οι επ[. . . ] . ως δεο[. . . . .]  
 125 [ . . π]ρος το[ν Π]εριανδ[ρον . . .]  
 [ . . . ]σι μοι [πλ]ησιαζε[ιν . . .]  
 [ . . . ]νποτ[. . . ] ὑπερ το[ν Π]ε  
 [ρια]γδρου· κ[αι] τις εισα[. . . . .]  
 [ . . . ]ξελευσα . [ . . ]στινο[. . . . .]  
 130 [ . . . ]νειν ω[. . . ]λεται· [ . . . . .]  
 [ . . . ]η εἰει ι[. . . ]προπι[. . . . .]  
 [ . . . ]λομαι κ[. . . ] βουλ[. . . . .]  
 [ . . . ]ιωσπερ[. . . . . . . . . . .]  
 [ . . . . . ] . ειουτ[. . . . . . . . . . .]  
 135 [ . . . . . ] . εντο[. . . . . . . . . . .]  
 . . . . .
- (c) 150 ]α[  
 ]ουτ[  
 ]εινα[  
 ]ρην[  
 ]ανελ[  
 155 ]υμοφ[  
 ]νδεβ[
- αυτη[  
 απο[  
 ταω[  
 145 των[  
 λων[  
 τρα . [  
 κου[  
 ρον[  
 . . . . .
- ]με ασπ[  
 ] και παλ[  
 ]εφυ[  
 160 ]ος εα[  
 ]νον[  
 ] ευρο[  
 ] . σασ[

‘(Solon) before Pisistratus seized the government went abroad; for his warnings to the Athenians that Pisistratus was aiming at a tyranny failed to convince them. I however stayed on; but when the tyranny of Pisistratus was already established I left the country and lived in Ionia with Solon. After some time my friends were anxious for my return, and particularly Pisistratus, on account of our intimacy; so as Solon urged it I went back to Athens. Now I had left there a boy named Thrasybulus, the son of Philomelus. I found him grown into a very handsome and virtuous young man, far superior in looks and manners to the others of his age; for in the general debasement due to the political situation no one had advanced to any nobility of character. He surpassed them all in horse-breeding and the chase and other such expensive pursuits; and it was said against him in the city that he was in love with the younger daughter of Pisistratus, whom he had seen carrying the vessels of Athene. His grandfather Hagnotheus in whose house it happened that Thrasybulus, who had been bereft of both father and mother, was being brought up, being, I think, a little annoyed with him, invited me to his house as I was their kinsman and had been left guardian by Philomelus. I was very ready to go, for Hagnotheus’ company was a pleasure to me . . .’

1-10. This statement that just before the establishment of the tyranny of Pisistratus Solon left Athens and went to Ionia is not only new but conflicts with the account of Plutarch (*Sol.* 30-1), who represents Solon as refusing to fly and as living on at Athens in friendly relations with the usurper. The *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία* (14. 2) does not suggest that Solon retired from Athens, though on the other hand there is nothing there inconsistent with such a view; it is simply stated that Solon’s warnings and opposition proved fruitless. Diogenes Laertius indeed asserts (i. 51, 62) that Solon died in Cyprus, and this statement may now have to be treated with more respect than heretofore. A new light is thus turned upon the much discussed question of the meeting between Solon and Croesus as king of Lydia. The usurpation of Pisistratus and the accession of Croesus to sole sovereignty are placed in the same year, B.C. 560, and there will be no chronological objection to the interview described by Herodotus, if it is transferred to this period. With regard to the date of Solon’s death, *χρονωι* in l. 10 here is too vague to build any argument upon; according to Heraclides Ponticus he survived the overthrow of the constitution *συχρόν χρόνον*, according to Phanias of Ephesus less than two years (both *ap.* Plutarch, *Sol.* 32).

5. l. *πείθειν*.

11. This construction of *σπουδάζειν* with the infinitive is common in Aristotle, e.g. *Atē. Pol.* 38. 4 *οὗς αὐτὸς ἐσπούδασεν ἐλθεῖν*.

15. *κατέλιπον* is probably for *κατέλειπον*.

26. l. *ὑπερέβαλ(λ)εν*.

29-32. This is the first mention of a second daughter of Pisistratus. With *αρρηφορουσαν* cf. Polyaeus, *Strategem.* 5. 14 *Θρασυμήδης Φιλομήλου τῆς Πεισιστράτου θυγατρὸς ἐρασθεὶς πομπεύουσιν αὐτὴν προσδραμὼν ἐφίλησεν*. Apparently the author of our dialogue either did not know of or did not accept this more romantic version, for *αρρηφορουσαν* and *πομπεύουσιν* can hardly refer to different occasions. For *διαβάλλεσθαι* with the infin. cf. *Hdn.* 2. 6. 10 *ἀλλ’ ὅπερ ἔφην διεβλήθης μισοβασιλεὺς εἶναι*, but the construction is unusual.

37. *ορφανον*: l. *ὀρφανός*.

82. All that remains of the supposed *τ* over the line is a rather coarse horizontal stroke, immediately above a break in the papyrus.

88. The letters *οστ* have each had a short horizontal stroke drawn through them, probably by the first hand; the doubtful *ι* was perhaps also deleted.



91-114. "This accordingly seems probable. If then," said I, "this be true, it would be of no more advantage to Periander to rule than be ruled by another nor to any other bad ruler. For I suppose," I said, "that he will reap the reward of his misdeeds among those dearest to him. For what is dearer to a sensible man than his country and his blood-relations?" "Yes, by Zeus," struck in Aripbron, "you speak truly, and I and Adimantus here wish to bear you out, having just been with Periander when his cruelty plunged him into a terrible disaster." "What disaster?" said Pisistratus. "I will tell you," he said. "Before Cypselus, the father of Periander, obtained the supremacy, the great clan of the Bacchiadae, as they are called, ruled the city. When he became supreme the majority of them fled . . . a few however remained. . . ."

98. [κομ]εισθαι τας αμαρτίας in the sense of κομείσθαι τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν is a curious expression, though cf. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* ix. 7 κομιονμένους τὰς χάριτας.

106-9. Unless the present conversation is to be supposed to have occurred while Pisistratus was still a private person, which is eminently improbable, this passage plainly implies that Periander of Corinth was not yet dead when the tyranny of Pisistratus was established at Athens. The ordinary chronology places the accession of Periander in B.C. 625 and his death in 585, thus leaving a very considerable interval before the first tyranny of Pisistratus, which no one desires to put earlier than B.C. 560. According to one passage of Herodotus, however, Periander and Pisistratus were contemporaries; for he makes the former arbiter in a war between Athens and Mytilene which followed upon the capture of Sigeum by Pisistratus (v. 94-5). The usual method of avoiding this difficulty is to suppose that there were two wars with Mytilene, and that the arbitration of Periander occurred in the first. But for this there is no kind of evidence, and, as Beloch has pointed out (*Rheinisches Museum*, vol. xlv. p. 466 sqq.), the difficulties involved in this explanation are hardly less than those which it attempts to solve. He himself suggests that the mistake of Herodotus consists in referring an arbitration by Periander in a dispute between Tenedos and Sigeum (Arist. *Rhet.* i. 15. 13) to the period of the war against Mytilene; at the same time Beloch considers that the chronology of Periander is quite insecure, and that he might with advantage be put several decades later. But other references in Herodotus clearly point to the earlier date, for the tyranny of Periander at Corinth synchronized with that of Thrasybulus at Miletus (Hdt. i. 20, v. 92), which was established at the beginning of the reign of Alyattes king of Lydia (i. 18-22); while the eclipse of the sun which ended the war between Alyattes and Cyaxares of Media (i. 74) provides a securely fixed point of departure (approximately B.C. 585). Herodotus' chronology is probably past mending.

108. μεγάλη πυνν συμφοραι: to what this refers is not clear. As the Bacchiadae were in some way involved, the misfortune is apparently not one of those ordinarily ascribed by tradition to the private life of Periander.

115. Cf. Hdt. v. 92 ἦν ὀλιγαρχία, καὶ οὗτοι Βακχιάδαι καλεόμενοι ἔνεμον τὴν πόλιν· ἐδίδοσαν δὲ καὶ ἥγοντο ἐξ ἀλλήλων. It is doubtful whether the mistake of the original hand in the spelling of the name was anything more than υ for ι; but there is barely room in the lacuna for [αδαι].

119. και[: the third letter is quite uncertain; perhaps κατ[εμειναν | απελ]ειπ[ο]ν ουν. The question of the reading here is complicated by the doubt concerning the position of the fragment containing the first part of ll. 120 sqq. Lines 125-6 and 127-8 will suit the arrangement adopted in the text, which moreover brings out a column of exactly the required length. In l. 120 this fragment contains the doubtful ει and part of the π; the rest of the π (which apart from the fragment could be read as τ) is on the upper piece. Another break occurs between ll. 133-4, but here the junction is almost certain. The latter parts of

ll. 128 ] *τις εισα*[... 132 ] *βουλ*[ are also on a detached fragment the position of which, though probable from the appearance of the papyrus, is by no means secure.

150-63. This fragment from the bottom of a column very likely belongs to Col. iv; it does not appear possible to find a place for it in Col. iii.

### 665. HISTORY OF SICILY.

Fr. (a) 10.5 × 4.6, Fr. (b) 10.3 × 4.6 cm.

PLATE I.

These fragments, which belong evidently to the same column, of which they formed the upper and lower portions respectively, are notwithstanding their small size of no slight interest and importance. They contain an abstract or summary of events in Sicily, the different items, which are stated in the concisest manner, being marked off by paragraphi and further distinguished from each other by the protrusion of the first lines into the left margin. The papyrus was a regular literary roll, written in a fine uncial hand, which bears a very strong resemblance to that of the Oxyrhynchus papyrus of the *Προοίμια Δημογηγορικά* (facsimile in P. Oxy. I, p. 54), and also to that of the Bacchylides papyrus, to which it presents a still closer parallel than was provided by the Demosthenes MS. We should assign it, like the Demosthenes, to the second century A.D.; an earlier date is not at all likely. Probably this is part of an epitome of a continuous history of Sicily, and it may well be that, as Blass thinks, the work epitomized was the lost History of Timaeus.

The period to which the fragments refer seems to be that immediately following the general overthrow of the tyrannies in the Sicilian cities which took place about the year 465 B.C. (Diod. xi. 68. 5). This period is indicated by the frequent mentions of conflicts with the *ξένοι*, by whom are meant the mercenaries settled in the cities by the tyrants as a support of their rule. Diodorus, who is the sole authority for the history of this time, narrates the course of the hostilities at Syracuse between these new comers and the older citizens (xi. 72, 76); and implies that Syracuse was not peculiar in this respect:—‘Almost all the cities,’ he says (76. 5), ‘... with one consent came to terms with the strangers (*ξένοι*) settled there.’ The papyrus fills in some of the intermediate details passed over by the historian. We hear of an expedition of *ξένοι* from Enna and Cacyrum against Gela, which received aid from Syracuse. This was apparently followed by overtures from the *ξένοι* to the Syracusans (cf. note on l. 5), which, however, proved ineffectual, for the next event is a battle between them. Shortly afterwards the mercenaries settled at Minoa were defeated

by the combined forces of Syracuse and Agrigentum. The activity displayed by Syracuse warrants the inference that she had herself already got the upper hand of her own ξένοι, who, as Diodorus relates, were finally defeated in a pitched battle. The campaign of the Syracusans against Catana mentioned at this time by Diodorus (76. 3) is part of the same anti-foreign movement. But hostilities seem to have extended beyond the opposing sections of the various city states. The fragments also supply information of an expedition of Agrigentum against Crastus, and an engagement subsequently occurred at the latter place between the Agrigentines and forces from Himera and Gela, which may be supposed to have come to the assistance of Crastus. These new facts may not be very weighty, but they convey a more adequate idea than was before possible of the period of unrest, the στάσεις and ταραχαί, which intervened between the overthrow of the tyrannies and the establishment of general peace.

	[τω]ν εν Ομφα[λωι και		Κραστον στρ[ατεια
	Κακυρωι ξεν[ων επι		η γενομεν[η περι
	[Γ]ελαν στρα[τεια		15 Κραστον Ἰμερα[ιων
	βοη[θ]εια Συρα[κ]ο[σιων		και Γελωιων προς Α[κρα
5	Γε[λω]ιοις και π . [ . . . .		γαντινους μαχ[η
	των ξενων προς [Συρα		ως οι την Μινωιαν
	κοσιους		των ξενων οικ[ι
	μαχη Συρακοσ[ιων και	20	ζοντες ὑπ Ακρα
	των ξεν[ω]ν [ . . . . .		γαντινων και Σ[υρα
10	Γλαυκων πε[ . . . . .		κοσιων ηιρεθ[η]σαν
	[ . . . . . ]αρ[ . . . . .		[ . Ακρ]αγαν[τιν . . .
	. . . . .		
	Ακρα[γαν]τινων επι		

1. Ομφα[λωι: cf. Cic. Verr. 4. 48 *Hennensium nemore, qui locus . . . umbilicus Siciliae nominatur*, and the spurious line in Callim. *H. in Cer.* 6. 15 τρίς δ' ἐπὶ καλλίστης νήσου δράμες ὀμφαλὸν Ἐνναν.

2. Κακυρωι: the site of this town, which is mentioned by Ptolemy, has been placed at the modern village of Cassaro, near Palazzolo; the present passage seems to indicate that it should be looked for further west, and the position given in Kiepert's *Topogr. Hist. Atlas* is probably not far from the truth.

5. All that remains of the letter at the end of the line is a straight stroke which



suggests  $\epsilon$ ,  $\eta$ , or  $\iota$ .  $\rho$  is not impossible, but there is no trace of the tail, and we therefore hesitate to introduce  $\pi\rho[\epsilon\sigma\beta\epsilon\iota\alpha$ , which is otherwise attractive, into the text.

10.  $\Gamma\lambda\alpha\upsilon\kappa\omega\nu$  is evidently a personal name, but nothing is known of this bearer of it.

11. The gap between the two fragments probably extends to about 10 lines, but it may be larger.

13. Crastus is described by Steph. Byz. as  $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\varsigma$   $\Sigma\iota\kappa\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$   $\tau\hat{\omega}\nu$   $\Sigma\iota\kappa\alpha\nu\hat{\omega}\nu$ , citing the  $\Sigma\iota\kappa\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\kappa\acute{\alpha}$  of Philistus. Its position is unknown; no doubt it was in the neighbourhood of Agri-gentum.

22. The vestiges of the letter after  $\eta\iota\rho\epsilon$  do not suggest  $\theta$ , but can hardly be said to be inconsistent with that letter, since there is no other example of a  $\theta$  in the text. If the shape of the  $\theta$  was tall and narrow, as in the Bacchylides papyrus, the effect of mutilation might be that actually presented in the fragment. Of the supposed  $\eta$  only a small speck remains.

23. A fresh entry probably commences at this line, and in that case there would be one or even two letters before  $\text{Ακρ}]\alpha\gamma\alpha\nu[\tau\iota\nu$  . ., e.g.  $\eta$  or  $\tau\acute{o}$   $\text{Ακρ}]\alpha\gamma\alpha\nu[\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\nu$ .

#### 666. ARISTOTLE, *Προτρεπτικός*.

27.2 × 9.8 cm.

A sheet containing two practically entire columns, preceded by the ends of lines from a third, the text of which includes a lengthy passage quoted by Stobaeus (*Flor.* 3. 54) from Aristotle, and now generally assigned to the Aristotelian dialogue *Προτρεπτικός* or Exhortation to Philosophy (Rose, *Fr.* 57). Besides additions at the beginning and end of the excerpt the papyrus supplies a sentence omitted by Stobaeus in the middle of his quotation. The evidence of these supplementary passages, though bringing no direct proof of the identity of the treatise of which they formed part, tend to support the attribution to the *Προτρεπτικός*, in particular ll. 161 sqq., where the foregoing argument on the worthlessness of external goods as such results in a recommendation of philosophy (cf. note on l. 170).

The text is written in narrow columns (width 4 cm.), placed very close together, in rather small informal uncials, which we should date about the middle or latter part of the second century. No breathings or accents occur, and stops are also absent, the sentences being divided off by paragraphi only. The common angular sign is used to fill up short lines. Parts of the initial letters of the first few lines of a fourth column remain, but all that is recognizable is a doubtful  $\epsilon$  opposite l. 118 and an  $\omega$  opposite l. 120. The papyrus is dirty and rubbed in places.

The appended collation is derived from Hense's edition of Stobaeus, iii.

3. 25. The MSS. referred to are the Escorialensis Mendozae (M), Parisinus (A), and Marcianus as embodied in the edition of Trincavelli (Tr.). Other authorities are Maximus Monachus, *Gnomologium*, c. 17 (= Max.), where the earlier part of the quotation in Stobaeus is given with some slight textual variations, and the *Florilegium Laurentianum* (Laur.), where the extract of Maximus reappears (Meineke, *Stobaeus*, iv. 225, 25). The papyrus sometimes supports one, sometimes another, of these witnesses, and occasionally corrects them all. It is, however, itself far from being impeccable, and in one or two places where it is the sole authority emendation is necessary.

	Col. i.	Col. ii.	Col. iii.
	]Χη	τε πραττειν των	115 δια της ψυχης αγα
	]γει	δεοντων τι προ	θων πλεονασασα
	]τε	60 αιρουμενους	ει αυτων ειναι
	]γδου	κωλυηι διο δει	τα κτηματα παν
5	]και	την τουτων	των αισχιστον
	]ατη[.]	θεωρουσαν ατυ	120 ωσπερ γαρ ει τις
	]φιαν	χιαν φευγειν	των οικετων
	]των	65 και νομιζειν	των αυτου χει
	]λασ	την ευδαιμονιαν	ρων ειη καταγε
10	]πλε	ουκ εν τωι πολ	λαστος αν γενοιτο
	]αν	λα κεκτησθαι γι	125 τον αυτον τροπον
	]ων	νεσθαι μαλλον	οις πλεονος αξιαν
	]μια	70 η εν τωι πως	την κτησιν ειναι[ι
	]δεν	την ψυχην δια	συμβεβηκεν της
15	]τιθεσ	κεισθαι και γαρ	ιδιας φυσεως αθ[λι
	]ων	σωμα ου το λαμ	130 ους τουτους ειναι[ι
	]λα	πραι εσθητι κε	δει νομιζειν
	]κου	75 κοσμημενον	και τουτο κατ α
	]ισ .	φαιη τις αν ε[ι	[λ]ηθειαν ουτως
23	lines lost.	ναι μακαριον	[ε]χει τικτει γαρ
43	]αφισ	αλ[λα] το την υ[γει	135 ως φησιν η παρ
	]γισ	αν εχον και σ[που	οιμια κορος με[ν
45	]διστι	80 δαιως διακε[ιμ]ε	υβριν απαιδε[ν
	]ημμι	νον καν μηδεν	σια δε μετ εξου
	] . διζον		

αι]σχυνο	των προειρημε	σιας ανοιαν το[ις
] . νι παρ	νων αυτωι παρηι	140 γαρ διακειμε[νοις
50 ]αυτων	τον αυτον δ[ε] τρο	τα περι την ψυ
]ση γαρ	85 πον και ψυχην	χην κακως ου
] . κυων	εαν ηι πεπαιδευ	τε πλουτος ουτ ι
φα]τνηι	μενη την τοιαυ	σχυς ουτε καλλος
]ν οταν	την και τον τοιου	145 των αγαθων εστ[ιν
τ	τον ανθρωπον	αλλ οσωι περ αν α[ν
55 ]τοσ	90 ευδαιμονα προσ	ται μαλλον αι δια
]	αγορευτεον εστιν	θεσεις καθ υπ[ερ
μη]	ουκ αν τοις εκτος	βολην υπαρξ[ωσι
	ηι λαμπρως κε	150 τοσουτω μειζ[ω
	χορηγημενος	και πλειω τον
	95 αυτος μηδενος	κεκτημενον
	αξιος ων ουδε γαρ	βλαπτουσι <εαν> αν[ευ
	[ι]ππον εαν ψαλια	φρονησεως [πα
	χρυσα και σκευ	155 ραγενωντα[ι το
	ην εχηι πολυτε	γαρ μη παιδι[μα
100 λη φαυλος ων		χαιραν τουτ [εστι
τον τοιουτον		το μη τοις φ[αν
αξιον τινος νομι		λοις την εξου[σι
ζομεν [[τινος νο		160 αν εγχειριζε[ιν
μιζομεν]] ειναι		την δε φρον[ησιν
105 αλλ εαν διακειμε		απαντες αν ο[μολο
νος <ηι> σπουδαιως		γησειαν εις το [μαν
τουτον μαλλον		θανειν γιγνεσθ[αι <και>
επαινουμεν		165 ζητειν ων τας [δυ
χωρις δε των ει		ναμεις φιλοσοφ[ια
110 ρημενων συμ		περιειληφεν ω[σ
βαινει τοις μηδε		τε πως ουκ απ[ρο
νος αξιουσιν		φασιστως φιλο[σο
οταν τυχωσι χο		170 φητεον εστι και
[ρηγι]ας και των		



58-170. '... nor prevent them when purposing to do a right action. We ought to be warned by the spectacle of their plight to avoid it ourselves(?), and should regard happiness not as dependent upon the acquisition of wealth rather than upon a particular state of the soul. Bodily blessings would not be held to consist in adornment with magnificent apparel, but in the possession of health and in sound condition, even in the absence of the other advantages which I have mentioned. In the same way happiness is to be attributed to the disciplined soul and to a man of such a character, not to the man who is magnificently supplied with externals and is in himself worthless. We do not consider a bad horse to be of any value if it has gold chains and costly trappings; we rather give our praise to one that is in sound condition. Besides what we have said, too, worthless persons, when they obtain wealth and value their possessions more than the goods of the soul, are in the worst case of all. For just as a man who was inferior to his own domestics would be ridiculous, so those who come to find their property of more value than their own nature ought to be held miserable. And this is the truth of the matter, for "satiety breeds insolence" as the proverb says, and want of discipline combined with power breeds folly. In a bad state of the soul neither wealth nor strength nor beauty are good things, but the greater the abundance of these qualities, the more do they injure their possessor, if they are unaccompanied by reason. "Do not give a child a knife," is as much as to say, "Do not entrust bad men with power." Now reason, as all would admit, exists for the acquisition of knowledge, and seeks ends the means to which are contained in philosophy; why then should philosophy not be pursued without hesitation ...?'

61-4. This sentence might be correct if, as Diels suggests, θεωρουσαν referred to some preceding substantive such as ἡ τῶν σπουδαίων αἵρεσις. But more probably some correction is required; the simplest perhaps is to emend θεωρουσαν to θεωρουντα or θεωρουντας, with the sense given in our translation. Other expedients would be to read τοῦτ' οὐ for τούτων, 'the wretched state of mind which neglects this,' or to insert τι after τούτων, 'which pays great consideration to any of these external things,' but the latter interpretation of θεωρουσαν is hardly so natural.

65. The extracts of Stobaeus and Maximus Mon. begin after και. νομίζει δέ M, νόμιζε A, νομίζειν Tr., νομίζομεν δέ Max., νομίζειν δεῖ Laur.

68. γινεσθαι: so Max., Laur.; γίγνεσθαι MA, Tr.

69. μαλλον η: μάλλον δ(ε) MA, Max., Laur., ἀλλ' ἐν Tr.

70-2. πως την ψυχην: τήν ψ. εὔ MA<sup>2</sup>, τῇ ψυχῇ εὔ A<sup>1</sup>, Tr., Max., Laur. Above the ω of πως there are in the papyrus some faint vestiges, which if not accidental might perhaps represent a cursively written εν; but we have considered this too doubtful for insertion in the text. In any case πως has not been cancelled, and if the intention was to indicate a reading εὔ πως the εν should have been written further to the left.

73. σωμα ου το: so MA, Max., Laur.; οὐδὲ τὸ σῶμα αὐτό Tr.

76. τις αν: so MA<sup>2</sup>, Max., Laur.; τις εὔ A<sup>1</sup>, τις Tr.

78. Considerations of space made it more probable that υγιαν or υγειαν (A, Tr., Max., Laur.) was written than υγειαν (M).

82. προειρημενων: so MSS. except Max., where παρακειμένων is found.

85. ψυχην: so M, Tr., Max., Laur.; ψυχῇ A.

86. εαν ηι πεπ.: so M, Tr., Max., Laur.; ἔνεστιν ἰδεῖν πεπ. Tr.

88. και: Laur. substitutes εἰς. τοιοῦτον is omitted in Max.

92. τοις: so MA, Laur.; τις Tr., Max.

εκτος: so MA, Max., Laur.; ἐκ τούτων Tr.

93. λαμπρως : so MA<sup>2</sup>, Max., Laur. ; λαμπρός A<sup>1</sup>, Tr.  
 κεχορηγημενος : κεκοσμημένος MSS. (κεκοσμένος Laur., putting λαμπρῶς after κεκοσμ.).
95. αυτος ; Max. and Laur. add δέ.
96. ουδε : so A<sup>2</sup> (and conjecturally Meineke) ; οὔτε A<sup>1</sup> and the other MSS.
97. εαν ψαλια : εἰαν ψέλλια MA, Max., Laur. ; κἂν ψέλλια Tr.
- 98-9. A places ἔχῃ before χρυσᾶ.
100. The papyrus does not support Meineke's insertion of αὐτός before φαῦλος which is adopted by Rose.
105. εαν : ὅς ἂν MSS. except Laur., which has ὡς ἂν and adds ὁ before σπουδαῖος.
106. The insertion of ηι (so MSS.) is necessary.
- 109-19. The excerpts of Stobaeus and Maximus omit this passage, and unfortunately its meaning and construction are obscured by a corruption. Apparently πλεονασασαι conceals something like πλέονος ἄξια, and we may either add συμβῆ (cf. ll. 125-7) and place a comma after κτήματα, when the sense will be as in the translation above, or connecting των δια της ψυχης αγαθων with τυχωσι insert ὃ or ὅπερ (so Diels) before παντων αισχιστον. 'It sometimes happens that worthless persons have both external and mental gifts, and value the former above the latter, which is the most disgraceful thing of all.' *Corruptio optimi pessima*. The latter remedy produces an easier construction and a more pointed sentence.
122. των is omitted in the MSS.
126. πλεονος : πλείονος MSS.
128. συμβεβηκεν : συμβέβηκε MSS.
130. τουτους ειναι : so MSS. except A, which transposes the words.
131. The excerpt of Maximus ends here.
- 150-1. μειζ[ω] και πλειω : καὶ πλείω καὶ μείζω Tr., πλείω καὶ μείζω MA.
- 153-5. Stobaeus here has χωρὶς φρονήσεως παραγερόμεναι, which is the conclusion of his quotation. In l. 153 we have supposed that the repetition of αν led to the loss of εαν. To read (ε)αν [χωρὶς would make the line too long.
- 155-60. Cf. Iamblichus, *Protrepticus*, 2 βλαβερά μάλιστα τροφῆς μὲν ἀφθονία τῷ τὸ σῶμα, κτήσεως δὲ τῷ τὴν ψυχὴν διακειμένῳ κακῶς. καὶ ἐπισφαλὲς καὶ ὅμοιον μαινομένῳ δοῦναι μάχαιραν καὶ μοχθηρῷ δύνανιν, which looks like an imitation of the passage before us. On the close connexion of part of the treatise of Iamblichus with the Aristotelian dialogue cf. Bywater in *Journal of Philology*, ii. 55 sqq.
164. There would hardly be room for the necessary και after γινεσθαι, but the homoioteleuton may easily have caused its omission ; cf. note on 153-5.
169. φιλοσοφητέον was the key-note of the Προτρεπτικός, as of the similarly named work of Iamblichus ; cf. Bywater, *ibid.*, pp. 68-9.

## 667. ARISTOXENUS ?

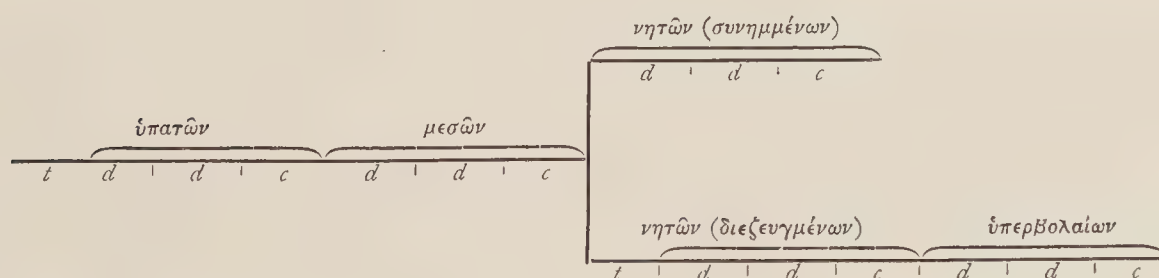
18 x 8 cm.

Parts of two columns, the former of which comprises thirty complete lines, containing an analysis of certain musical scales. To the authorship of the fragment we have no real clue. It is natural in such a case to think first of

Aristoxenus, the greatest name among the ancient writers upon musical theory; and there is no reason why the piece should not come from his *Ἀρμονικὰ Στοιχεῖα* or some similar work. But on the other hand there is no particular reason why it should, for any treatise on the same subject might include some such discussion as that found here. The papyrus probably falls within the third century. It is written in a clear semi-uncial hand, without stops or other lection marks; a short space, which is indicated in the transcript below, is used to divide the several sentences.

The highly technical language employed in the fragment can hardly be understood or discussed without some preliminary explanation of the composition of the Greek scale. We must here acknowledge our great indebtedness to Mr. H. S. Macran, to whose excellent edition of the *Harmonics* of Aristoxenus the reader is referred for further information.

The fundamental unit which was the basis of the Greek scale in all its later developments was the tetrachord, typically consisting of two *dieses*, i. e. semitones or smaller intervals, and a complement, or the interval remaining when the *dieses* were subtracted from the concord of the fourth. The magnitude of the three intervals determined the genus of the tetrachord as enharmonic or chromatic, the enharmonic variety containing two quarter-tones and a ditone, and the chromatic other divisions, e. g. two semitones and a tone and a half. The more familiar diatonic tetrachord, composed of a semitone and two tones, was distinguished by having only one *diesis*. Larger scales were effected by the arrangement or combination (*ἁρμονία*) of such tetrachords in two ways, (*a*) by conjunction (*συνναφή*), when the last note of one tetrachord coincided with the first note of the next; or (*b*) by disjunction (*διάζευξις*), when the tetrachords were separated from each other by a tone. The combination of a pair of tetrachords in these two methods produced respectively the heptachord and octachord scales of the seven-stringed and eight-stringed lyres. Further additions resulted in what was known as the perfect scale, which took the following form (*t* = tone, *d* = *diesis*, and *c* = complement):—





or in modern notation:—



It will be observed that this system diverges at a certain point into a conjunct and a disjunct scheme, the heptachord scale being the basis of the one (the 'lesser complete system') and the octachord that of the other (the 'greater complete system'). The additional note at the bottom was technically known as the *προσλαμβανόμενος*.

To come now to the passage before us. The writer is examining and locating different scales, and has proposed for consideration a heptachord scale of the form  $\overbrace{d \quad d \quad c} \quad \overbrace{d \quad d \quad c}$ . A scale of this type would be enharmonic or chromatic (ll. 1-2) and also a conjunctive arrangement (ll. 2 sqq.). Such conjunction would occur in three places in the perfect scale (ll. 10 sqq.; see the scheme above), i.e. in the tetrachords *ὑπατῶν* and *μεσῶν*, *μεσῶν* and *νητῶν* (*συννημμένων*), *νητῶν* (*διεζευγμένων*) and *ὑπερβολαίων*. Disjunction, on the other hand, is only found in the case of the tetrachords *μεσῶν* and *νητῶν* (*διεζευγμένων*). To the given scheme is then (ll. 19 sqq.) added at the lower extremity a tone, corresponding to the *προσλαμβανόμενος* (see above), and the resulting eight-note system is said to occur in the same three combinations as before (ll. 22 sqq.). Here, however, a difficulty arises, for as will be seen on reference to the perfect scale such a scheme occurs in it not thrice but twice only, i.e. in the two halves of the 'greater complete system.' The simplest remedy is to suppose a defect in the text; cf. note *ad loc.*

Col. i.  
 . . . . .  
 μέν εναρμονιον η χρω  
 ματικον επειτα εν  
 συναφη κειμενον ει  
 τε ολη ειτε και εν με  
 5 ρει και ειτε δια των ε

Col. ii.  
 . . .  
 ε[  
 τ[  
 λ[  
 λ[  
 35 τ[

ξῆς μελωδοῖτο τὰ πολ	ο[
λα εἰθ υπερβατῶς     η	ε[
μεν γὰρ διαζευξίς αει	τ . [
νητὰς καὶ μεσὰς ἐφαι	μ[
10 νετο ποιεῖν τὴν δὲ	40 δ[
συναφὴν συνεβαίνει	μ[
κοινωνεῖν τριῶν	ε[
συστημάτων ὥστε	δ[
σημαίνειν ἐξ αὐτῆς	μ[
15 ἐν τοπῶι τινὶ ποτε	45 μ[
ρὸν δύναται ὑπάτας	α . [
καὶ μεσὰς [[ε]] ἢ ν[[α]]ητὰς	τα[
καὶ μεσὰς ἢ υπερβο	π[
λαίας καὶ νητὰς     ἐστῶ	εἰ[
20 δὲ καὶ τονιαῖον ἐπὶ	50 δ . [
τὸ βαρὺ προσκειμένον	αι . [
ἐπὶ τοῦτοις     κοινόν	αισ[
γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ	κα[
τοῦ οκταχορδου	δεῖ[
25 τῶν εἰρημένων τρι	55 καὶ [
ῶν συστημάτων κα	δε[
[θ]απερ ἐγένετο γνῶ	λαιμ[
ριμον καὶ ἐν τοῖς α	του[
νώτερον ὅποτε προ	νησ[
30 φερόμενον σύστημα	60 νον[
	κει [

1-30. '[Such a scale is in the first place] enharmonic or chromatic, in the second place it is a conjunctive system, whether its melodic succession be complete or partial, and mainly consecutive or broken. For disjunction was shown always to occur in the "lower" and "middle" tetrachords, while conjunction was found to enter into three scales, so that it did (not) immediately signify the region in which it lay, i.e. whether it applied to the "upper" and "middle" tetrachords or the "lower" and "middle" or the "lower" and "extreme." Now let a note be added to these at the bass extremity; then this scheme of the octachord will be common to (two of) the three scales already mentioned, as was proved in the foregoing argument when a scale was propounded . . .'

2-7. μελωδοῖτο is to be taken with ὁλη and ἐν μερεῖ as well as with δια τῶν ἐξῆς and

*υπερβατως*. Scales might be curtailed either by diminishing their compass, i.e. dropping notes at the extremities (*εν μερει*), or by omitting inner notes (*υπερβατως*); cf. Aristox. *Harm.* p. 17. 30 (Meibom), and Aristid. Quint. pp. 15-6 τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐστὶ συνεχῆ, ὡς τὰ διὰ τῶν ἐξῆς φθόγγων, τὰ δ' ὑπερβατά, ὡς τὰ διὰ τῶν μὴ ἐφεξῆς μελωδούμενα. For *συναφή* and *διάζευξις* generally cf. Aristox. *Harm.* p. 58. 15 sqq. τα πολλά in l. 6 seems otiose.

13 sqq. The construction and sense of this passage are not very clear. If the words are to be left as they stand, something like δειν ἡμᾶς must be understood with *σημαίνειν*; but the change of subject is very awkward, and we prefer to suppose with Mr. Macran that *μη* was dropped out before *σημαίνειν*. The similarity of the following syllable *ση* would help to account for the loss.

15. *εν τοπωι τινι*: SC. κείται ἡ συναφή οἱ κείσθαι τὴν συναφήν, according as *τινι* is accented *τίνι* or *τινί*. τόπος means technically region or direction of the scale.

22 sqq. This sentence is the *cruix* of the fragment, for, as already explained in the introduction, the series of notes apparently indicated only occurs twice in the perfect scale, not three times as here stated by the author. The easiest way out of the difficulty is to adopt Mr. Macran's suggestion that *δυνον* has fallen out of the text before *των ειρημενων*.

## 668. EPITOME OF LIVY, XXXVII-XL AND XLVIII-LV.

Height 26 cm.

PLATE VI (Col. viii).

Literary papyri from Egypt which are now numbered by hundreds have hitherto, with a few trifling exceptions, been Greek; and Latin literature has been represented only by a small piece of Vergil and a few unimportant historical or juristic fragments. The discovery of an important literary text in Latin is therefore a welcome novelty. This consists of parts of eight columns of an epitome of a history of Rome, the events being grouped together in strict chronological order under the different consular years, and the division of the several books being noted. That the author of the history in question was Livy, though not stated, is obvious from a comparison of the arrangement of the books as numbered in the papyrus with that of the corresponding books in Livy's work.

The epitome is written on the recto; on the verso is the text of part of the Epistle to the Hebrews (657). The presence of the latter enables us to decide the relative position of the different fragments of the Livy with the exception of a few small pieces, two of which had been gummed over places of the recto in order to strengthen the roll, and one of which seems to have been cut off from a much later portion of it (ll. 218-25). The handwriting is a medium-sized upright uncial, with some admixture of minuscule forms (*b*, *d*), and belongs to the same class as the Vergil fragment (P. Oxy. I, Plate viii) and



the Bodleian Chronicles of Eusebius (Palaeographical Soc. ii. Plate 130), but is an earlier example of the mixed style than has hitherto been known. The papyrus was found with cursive documents varying from the second to the fourth century (chiefly third), and the text of the Epistle to the Hebrews is certainly not later than the fourth century (cf. introd. to 657). The Livy epitome must therefore have been written not later than the beginning of the fourth century, and it more probably belongs to the third. Abbreviations are commonly employed in praenomina, in official titles such as *cos.*, *pr.*, *trib. pl.*, and *liber* in the headings is written *lib.* Other abbreviations are rare; but cf. ll. 15 *pass(a)*, 122 *Masiniss(ae)*, 207 *omnib(us)*. A middle point is placed after abbreviations, but there are no stops. Each column consists of 27–28 lines which are broad and contain on an average 37 letters, but the ends are very uneven although the scribe has no objection to dividing a word between two lines. The lines which mention the consuls for the year project by about three letters into the left margin. In spite of the handsome appearance of the MS., which has a broad margin above and below the calligraphic writing and is certainly not the work of a schoolboy, the text is extraordinarily corrupt. Mistakes in proper names, the occasional omissions of letters, and easy palaeographical errors such as the confusion of *c* and *g* (e.g. l. 27 *intergessit*) are not surprising; but forms such as *coniurium* for *connubium* (l. 17), *fictie grimonibus* for *fictis criminibus* (l. 72), *planus* for *primus* (l. 217), and still more *pugnamementasi* (? *Pergamenos missi*, l. 111), *trigem reddeterbuit* (? ... *ens deterruit*, l. 184), show that the scribe understood little of what he was writing. It is strange that having swallowed such monstrosities he should have in a few places taken the trouble to make minor corrections, *Chartaginientium* e.g. being altered to *Chartaginiensium* in l. 22, *fodem* to *fidem* in l. 95, and the superfluous *s* of *Lussitanorum* in l. 187 being erased. The epitome briefly chronicles events one after the other in the barest manner with no attempt at connexion or literary style, thereby presenting a marked contrast to the extant epitome of Livy; but this bald, strictly chronological arrangement hardly excuses the grammatical errors both of accident and syntax which are scattered throughout the text. The lack of confidence which the scribe's Latin necessarily inspires, coupled with the length of the lines, renders the task of restoring the lacunae, which occur in nearly every line, exceptionally difficult, and we have generally abstained from conjectures which did not seem fairly certain. Yet in spite of all these drawbacks, and though it is just when it reaches a new and therefore specially interesting fact that the papyrus is apt to present unusual obstacles to interpretation, the historical value of the new epitome is considerable, as will presently be shown.

The papyrus falls into two main divisions, the first (Cols. i-iii) covering Books 37-40, where Livy's history is extant, the second (Cols. iv-viii) covering Books 48-55, of which only an epitome constructed on quite other lines has been preserved. The first section, which deals with events between B.C. 190 and 179 and necessarily contains no new information, is chiefly interesting because it enables us to see the principles on which the epitome was composed, and hence to form a better estimate of the value of the second section, where no comparison with the actual work of Livy is possible. When allowances are made for the point of view of the compiler, the impression which he leaves is by no means unfavourable. Being limited to the barest catalogue of actual events, he naturally ignores Livy's discussions of origins and causes as well as speeches, but he does not omit any of the more important occurrences. With regard to the less striking incidents his choice is capricious; he tends to insert notices of picturesque stories, e.g. that of Ortiagon's wife (ll. 14-7), the tents in the forum (ll. 60-3), Theoxena (ll. 70-1), even when rather trivial; and the amount of space which he devotes to an event is often in inverse proportion to its importance. The account of the war in Ambracia, to which Livy gives nine chapters, is for instance dismissed in two words (l. 12). It is noticeable that he is more interested in home affairs than the author of the extant epitome, who in Books 37-40 mentions fewer events though entering into more details about them. The language of the papyrus is in the main borrowed from Livy, from whom whole phrases and even clauses are reproduced (e.g. in ll. 78-80), but the epitomizer frequently summarizes Livy in his own words (e.g. ll. 8-10)—a process which sometimes leads to apparent errors (cf. l. 3, note). Twice he seems to have distorted Livy's chronology through combining two separate notices (cf. notes on ll. 7 and 17), but in other respects the chronology of the papyrus faithfully represents that of Livy.

After Col. iii a good many columns are lost which contained the epitome of Books 41-7. With Col. iv begins the second and important section of the epitome, giving a few lines from the end of Book 48 and most of Books 49-55, Col. iv-vi and vii-viii are continuous, but between Cols. vi and vii one column is lost, as is proved by the lacuna in the Epistle to the Hebrews at the corresponding point. Books 50, 54, and 55 are the best preserved, then come 49 and 51. Of Book 52 we have only the beginnings of lines, and Book 53, which was treated at exceptional length, is spoilt by the loss of a whole column. The period with which the papyrus deals, B.C. 150-137, is one of great interest. Abroad there were the Third Punic, Fourth Macedonian (against Pseudophilippus), Achaean, and Spanish Wars, and at home events were leading up to the Gracchan revolution. The existing authorities are far from satisfactory. For

foreign affairs the only sources of the first rank are the fragments of Polybius and the extant epitome of Livy. Where these fail we are dependent mainly upon Appian, supplemented occasionally by such writers as Valerius Maximus, Florus, Eutropius, and Orosius. Of the internal history almost nothing is known except what is to be gleaned from the epitome of Livy and some references in Cicero. Thus wherever the papyrus supplements the existing epitome, the information is extremely welcome, and fortunately they differ from each other in two important respects. The extant epitome (henceforth called *Epit.*) is a connected narrative, and though the sequence of events is chronological to the same extent as the original history, the epitomizer has not thought it worth while to make clear to which year every event recorded belongs. The papyrus on the other hand being arranged on strict chronological principles, not only do we learn the precise year to which each event mentioned in it was assigned by Livy, but the dates for the parallel portions of *Epit.* can now be exactly determined, a proceeding which entails several changes in the chronology which *Epit.* has hitherto been supposed to prove. Secondly, though *Epit.* is as a rule much longer than the papyrus because it often describes events in greater detail, the brief summary in the latter frequently includes events which are passed over in *Epit.* Some of these are naturally trivial (e.g. ll. 84-5, 111-5, and 164-6), but others are quite important. The proportion allotted to the different books in *Epit.* is very uneven. Thus Book 49 in *Epit.* occupies a good deal of space, the epitomizer entering into some detail both with regard to the Third Punic War and the rise of the pretender in Macedonia. Beside this the account of Book 49 in the papyrus (ll. 87-105) is very meagre, though even so it mentions at least one event which does not occur in *Epit.* On the other hand Book 53 of *Epit.* is dismissed in a few lines, the author apparently attaching little importance to the events of B. C. 143-1, and Book 54 (B. C. 141-139) does not occupy much space. Here the papyrus is considerably fuller than *Epit.*, the proportion assigned to each book being more equal. Which of the two epitomes was constructed first is uncertain. The extant one is now generally considered to have been composed not earlier than the second century, and Zangemeister (*Festschr. d. xxxvi philol. Versamml.* 1882, pp. 86 sqq.) would assign it to the fourth, while the author of the compilation in the papyrus no doubt lived in the second or third century, when chronological epitomes were much in vogue in Egypt; cf. 12, 665, and the Strassburg fragment edited by Keil. The numerous errors in the text show that we have to deal with a copy some degrees removed from the original composition; but the interval of time need not be long, as is shown by the Oxyrhynchus fragment of Julius Africanus' *Κεστοί* (412), which though written within about fifty years of the composition of



that work is already quite corrupt. The discovery of an epitome of Livy in which the names of the consuls in the ablative case are prefixed to the events of each year goes far to confirm an acute conjecture of Mommsen (*Abh. d. k. Sächs. Ges.* viii. p. 552), who inferred from the internal evidence of Cassiodorus and Orosius that an epitome of such a character, rather than Livy's complete work, lay at the basis of those authors' compilations; the papyrus is, however, much less elaborate than the epitome of which the existence was postulated by Mommsen, and which Zangemeister (*ibid.*) even regards as the basis of the extant epitome of Livy.

We append a brief summary of the chief historical results to be gained from the new find. In foreign affairs the papyrus gives no new information about the Third Punic and Achaean Wars and confirms the generally received view. The chronology of the Macedonian war against Pseudophilippus, which was previously somewhat uncertain, is now fixed more precisely; cf. ll. 101, 106, and 126-7, note. The names of the ambassadors to Bithynia in B. C. 149, which are given in ll. 112-3, enable us to emend a corruption in the name of one of them as found in Polybius; and a hitherto unknown defeat of the Romans in B. C. 141 in Illyria is recorded in l. 175. But much more valuable are the references to the Spanish war, especially the campaigns against Viriathus. Not only does the papyrus supply new facts of importance, a victory (apparently) in B. C. 147 (l. 136), the defeat of L. Metellus in B. C. 142 (l. 167), and the delay of Q. Caepio (ll. 182-4); but it is now for the first time possible to construct the right chronology of the governors of Southern Spain in B. C. 145-39, and the chief events connected with them. Hitherto the few references to the Spanish war in Epit. were insufficient to correct the unsatisfactory account in Appian, whose text is in parts defective. A detailed examination of the changes introduced into the received chronology of this war and of the new light thrown upon Appian is given in the note on l. 167. More interesting, however, than defeats and victories are the references in the papyrus to home affairs. With regard to events previously known the most striking novelty is the date of the famous accusation of L. Aurelius Cotta by Scipio Africanus, which is placed by the papyrus in B. C. 138 in place of B. C. 133-29, a change which brings about a conflict between Livy and Cicero. Lines 115-6 probably fix the hitherto uncertain date of the *Lex Scantinia*. Among details which are new are the important military reform introduced by Appius Claudius in B. C. 140 (ll. 177-8), the dispute between the consul and the tribunes in the same year (ll. 182-4), and the statement about the ancestry of A. Gabinius, author of the *Lex Gabinia* (l. 193). It is also a matter of interest that we can now connect with Livy several statements of later writers, e.g. Dio Cassius (ll. 195-6, note), Valerius

Maximus (notes on ll. 161-3, 164-6, and 192), Frontinus (ll. 188-90, note), and Obsequens (ll. 127-9, note). Though the sadly imperfect condition of the text prevents this list from being much longer, and the numerous fragmentary references to hitherto unknown events serve only to accentuate the sense of loss, the papyrus is nevertheless a very serviceable addition to the authorities for the period from B. C. 150-139, and is a welcome violation of the monopoly hitherto enjoyed by Greek philology in the recovery of classical literature from Egypt.

For many suggestions and references in the commentary on this papyrus we are indebted to Mr. W. Warde Fowler. The first proofs of our publication were submitted to Profs. Kornemann, Reid, and Wissowa, who have also contributed much to the elucidation of several problems.

## Col. i.

- [*in Hispa*]nia Romani caesi. Book 37 (B.C. 190).  
 [M. Fulvio] Cn. Manlio cos. B.C. 189.  
 [. . . . .]s pax iterum data est. P. Lepidinus {maximus}  
 [pontif]ex maximus Q. Fabium pr(aetorem) quod flamen  
 5 [Quirin]alem erat proficisci in Sardiniam  
 [. . . . .]ant. Ant[i]ocho regi pax data. Lusitani  
 [vastati.] Rhodonia desoli deducta.  
 [Glabrio c]ensuram petens minantes  
 [accusa]tionem compellitoribus composito  
 10 [destiti]t.  
 lib(er) xxxviii Book 38.  
 [Ambra]cia capta.  
 [Gallog]raecis in Pamphylia proelio vastatis  
 [. . . . .]a liberata. Origiacontis captian nobilis  
 15 [centuri]onem cuius vim pass(a) erat aurum admit  
 [t. . . . .] poscentem occidit caputque eius ad virum  
 [secum? tulit.] Campanis coniurium datum. [ ]  
 [inter Achae]os et Lacedaemonios cruenta [pr]oelia.  
 [M. Valerio L]ulio Calinatore cos. B. C. 188.  
 20 [. . . . .]p]raeda ex Gallograecia per Cra. [. . . . .]  
 [ducta. L. M]inucius Myrtilus et L. Man{i}liu[s]  
 [per legat]os Chartaginien[<sup>s</sup>t]ium qui  
 [pulsi eran]t <avecti?>.  
 [M. Aemilio C. Fl]aminio cos. B. C. 187.

- 25 [P. Scipio] Africanus a Quintis Metellis die{s}[  
[dicta in Li]tratum abi<i>t, qui ne revocaretur  
[Gracchus t]rib(unus) pl(ebis) intergessit. L. Cornelius
3. l. Licinius for Lepidinus. 5. l. [quirin]alis. 7. l. Bononia for Rhodonia; cf.  
p. 102. 8. l. minantibus. 9. l. competitoribus proposito. 14. l. Ortiagontis captiva.  
17. l. connubium for coniurium. 19. l. L[iv]io Salinatore. 20. l. per Thra[ciam]. 25.  
l. Petilliis for Metellis. 26. l. Li]terminum. 27. l. intercessit.

## Col. ii.

- Scipio dam[natus . . . .] . eni.  
[lib(er) xxxv]iiii Book 39.
- 30 per C. Flam[iniu]m et M. Aemiliu[m] cos. Ligures  
perdomiti. v[er]iae Flaminia e]t Aemiliana munita[e].  
Latinorum [. . . . .]inum coacta  
ab Roma re[dire. Manlius . .]m de Gallo-  
graecis in t[r]iump[ho] . . . . .]an[. pe]cunia  
35 quae trans[lata erat . . . .]tis p[er]soluta.  
Sp. Postum<i>o [Q. Marcio co]s. B. C. 186.  
His[pa]la Fa[cenia meretri]ce et pupillo  
Aebutio qu[em] T. Sempronius] Rutilius  
tutor et ma[ter] Duronia ci]rcumscriberant  
40 iudicium re[ferentibus Ba]ccha-  
<n>alia subla[ta . . . . .]His]pan[i]  
subacti. at[hletarum cer]tamina  
primum a Fu[lvio Nobilior]e edita.  
Galli<s> in Ita[liam] transgressis Ma]rcellum  
45 [p]ersuasit [ut trans Alpes redire]nt. L. Cornelius  
Scipio pos[t bellum Antiochi] ludos voti-  
vos con[lata pecunia feci]t.  
App[i]o Clau[dio M. Sempron]o cos. B. C. 185.  
Ligures fu[gati. . . . .]llis accepta  
50 P. Claudio Pulchr[o L. Porcio Li]cinius cos. B. C. 184.  
homini ccđ ∞ [a Naevio pr(aetore) ven]efici<i> damnati.  
L. Quintius Fla[minius . . . .] Gallia  
quod Philippo [Poeni scorto] suo deside-  
rante gladia[torium specta]culum
37. l. Fe[cenia. 39. l. ci]rcumscripserant. 40. l. indicium. 44. l. Ma]rcellus.  
51. l. hominum circa d(uo) (millia)?



## Col. iii.

- 55 *sua manu Bonu[m] nobilem occiderat*  
*a lanatone cen[sore] senatu motus est.*  
*vastaita Porcia [facta.*  
*M. Claudio Marcello [Q. Fabio Labeone cos. B. C. 183.*  
*P. Licini Crassi po[ntificis] maximi*  
60 *ludis fune<b>ribus [. . . . . in foro*  
*tabernaculis po[sitis] evenit id quod*  
*nate[s] c[ecidit]e[rat] [tabernacula . . . . .*  
*in foro futura. 2[ ] 16 letters*  
*din[ . . . ] . . m. Han[nibal] 12 letters*  
65 *fl[ . . . . ] uhe[ ] 19 letters*  
*lib(er) xxxx Book 40.*  
*L. A[emilio] C[ ]n. Berio [cos. B. C. 182.*  
*[ . . . . . ] bellum p[ ] 16 letters*  
*[ . . . . . ] ellitesin[ ] 16 „*  
70 *[ . . . . . ] Theoxen[a ] 15 „*  
*in mare m[ . ] ugien[ . . . . . Demetrius*  
*fictie grimonibus [accusatus. . . . .*  
*per patrem coactu[s] 14 letters*  
*P. Lentulo M. Paebio [cos. B. C. 181.*  
75 *in agro L. Nerylli sc[ri]bae libri Numae inventi.*  
*A. Postumio C. <Calpurnio> [cos. B. C. 180.*  
*cum Liguribus Hisp[ani] subacti.*  
*L. Livius trib(unus) pl(ebis) quod [annos nati quemque*  
*magistratum pete[rent] rogatio lata*  
80 *est.*  
*Q. Fulvio M. Manlio c[os. B. C. 179.*  
*M. Lepidi et Fulvii No[bilioris] . . . . .*

55. 1. *Boiu[m]*. 56. 1. *M. Catone* for *lanatone*. 57. 1. *basilica* for *vastaita*.  
62. 1. *vate[s]* for *nate[s]*. 67. 1. *Baebio* for *Berio*. 72. 1. *fictis criminibus*. 74.  
1. *Cornelio* (or *Cethego*) for *Lentulo* and *Baebio* for *Paebio*. 75. 1. *Petillii* for *Nerylli*. 78.  
1. a *L. Villio* for *L. Livius* and *quot* for *quod*.

## Col. iv.

*adversus Cha[r]taginienses. Lusitani va[stati]. Book 48 (B. C. 150).*  
*C. Corneliu[s] . . . . ]ecus quod P. Decim su[ . . . . .*

85 *a . i<sup>c</sup>tam ingenu<sup>a</sup>m stupraverat d cu<sup>i</sup>. . . . .*  
*damnatus.*

*li<sup>b</sup>(er) xxxxv<sup>i</sup>iii*

Book 49.

*L. Marcio Censorino M. Man<sup>i</sup>lio cos.*

B. C. 149.

*bellum Punicum tertium exortum. Utic<sup>e</sup>enses*  
 90 *[b<sup>e</sup>nigne locant auxiliare. Chartagin<sup>i</sup>e<sup>n</sup>ses*  
*[i<sup>n</sup> [d<sup>e</sup>ditionem venerunt, iussi om<sup>n</sup>i<sup>a</sup> [sua*  
*in alium locum tra<sup>n</sup>sferre] mo<sup>i</sup>. . . . .*  
*redierunt. Roman<sup>o</sup>s . . . . .] s<sup>i</sup>. . . . .*  
*pepulerunt. Scipio<sup>i</sup> 21 letters*

95 *Aemiliani f<sup>i</sup>[o]dem p<sup>i</sup>. . . . . Aemi-*  
*liani virtute exer<sup>c</sup>itus qui obsessus*  
*a Poenis erat liber<sup>a</sup>tus. 16 letters*

*per<sup>h</sup> Caridemum poe<sup>i</sup>. . . . . Ser. Galba a Lusi-*  
*tanis reus product<sup>i</sup> 20 letters*

100 *fili quos flens con<sup>p</sup>lexus est. Andrisco . . .*  
*tii se Philippi philu<sup>m</sup> ferente Macedonia*  
*per arma occupata. [ 20 letters*  
*Man<sup>i</sup>lio et Marc<sup>i</sup>o c<sup>o</sup>s. quarti ludi saecula-*  
*re<sup>s</sup> factos quos opo<sup>r</sup>tuit Diti ex Sibyllinis*  
 105 *carminibus [Ter<sup>e</sup>n<sup>i</sup>ti facti sunt.*

*[ lib<sup>(er)</sup> l*

Book 50.

*per socios popu<sup>l</sup>i Romani Pseudophilippus*  
*in ultimam c<sup>i</sup> 24 letters*  
*lat<sup>i</sup>. . .] l<sup>i</sup>. . .] at<sup>i</sup> 17 „ Prusias?*

90. l. auxiliati; cf. p. 104.

101. l. filiu<sup>m</sup>.

# Col. v.

110 *[rex Bithy<sup>n</sup>iae positus est. ad Attalum regem*  
*[. . . . .] in pugnamentasi sunt legati Marco*  
*[. . .] poda<sup>g</sup>ricus A. Hostilius Mancinus capite*  
*[. . . . .] a quondam L. Manilius Volso stolidus*  
*[. . . . .] ligationem dixerunt M. Cato respondit*  
 115 *[nec caput] nec pedes nec cor habere{nt}. M. Sca<sup>n</sup>ti<sup>n</sup>i<sup>n</sup>us*  
*[. . . . .] am tulit <de> in stupro deprehensi<sup>s</sup>.*  
*[Sp. Albino L. Piso] ne cos.*

B. C. 148.

- [Masinis(sa) ult]imae senectutis liberos IIII  
 [.....]s reliquit decedens, cuius re-  
 120 [gnum natu max]imis filis per miliaannum distributum.  
 [Marcellus leg]atus ad Masinissam missus  
 [obrutus. Ha]sdrubal quod adfinis Masiniss(ae) erat  
 [.....]ta subselli socius est. Scipio Aemilianus  
 [consul creat]us.  
 125 [M'. Manilius] in Africa{m} pr[o]spere dimicatus [es]t.  
 [Iuventii pr(aetoris) i]n Thessalia exercitus caesus.  
 [Philippus a] Metello captus. sacrarium  
 [.... et laur]us soci maximo incendio  
 [inviolata. ]  
 130 [ lib(er) li]  
 [P. Cornelio C. Livio] cos.  
 [..... Cartha]ginein Appius crudelissime  
 [.....]ne obsidentiis Romanos non  
 [..... Carthag]inem crebris proeli(is).  
 135 [per Achaeor]um pr(aetorem) Corinthi legati Romano  
 [pulsati. Lu]sitani subalti.

Book 51.

B. C. 147.

111. l. in Pergamenos(?) missi for pugnamentasi (cf. p. 105) and M(arcus).... for Marco.  
 114. l. legationem. 120. l. Aemilianum for miliaannum. 123. l. occisus for socius.  
 125. l. dimicavit for dimicatus [es]t. 133. l. obsidentes. 135. l. Romani.  
 136. l. subacti; cf. p. 107.

Col. vi.

- Cn. Corne[lio L. Mummio] cos. B. C. 146.  
 [p]er Scipion[em] Carthago  
 [d]irepta. qu[  
 140 visset uxo]rem  
 duobus fil[is  
 potestate [  
 Aemilia qu[  
 [ lib(er) lii Book 52.  
 145 L. Mumanus C[orinthum] diruit.  
 uxore o[  
 peruriam[ a Lusitanis clades  
 accepta. [



- 150 *Q. Fabio Max[imo L. Hostilio cos.* B. C. 145.  
*M. Petron[i*  
*adversu[s Viriathum*  
*Ser. Galba L. [Cotta cos.* B. C. 144.  
*L. Metell[us* con-  
*sulatum [*  
 155 *qui invis[us plebi*  
*petitur v[*  
*Syria va[stata*  
*c[on]tent[*  
 [ lib(er) liii Book 53.  
 160 *Q. Metello [Appio Claudio cos.* B. C. 143.  
*Rethog[en*  
*liberos t[.*  
*proposito a[*

145. 1. *Mummius.*

One column lost.

Col. vii.

- 165 *occidit, a Tyresio quem devici[t gladiu]m*  
*dono accepit saguloque remi[sso am]ici-*  
*[ti]ae dextram dedit.*  
*[M]etellus cos. a Lusitanis vex[atus. ]*  
*[s]igna statu(a)s tabulas Corinth[ias L. M]ummius*  
*distribuit circa oppida et Rom[. . . . .]vit.*  
 170 *[C]n. Caepione Q. Pompeio cos.* B. C. 141.  
*Q. Fabius Maximus Lusitanis ca[esis ]*  
*Viriathum fugavit.*  
 lib(er) liiii Book 54.  
*Pompeius cos. a{n} Nu{a}mantinis d[evictu]s. in*  
 175 *Scordiscis cladis accepta.*  
*[Q. Cae]pione [C.] Laelio Salasso c[os.]* B. C. 140.  
*Appius Claudius evicit ne duos [delectus?] annus*  
*haberet. Uemilius Torquatus D. S[ila]num*  
*filium sui[m] de Macedonia dam[n]avit, f]uneri*  
 180 *non interfuit, eademque die [i]n do[mo] sua*  
*consultantibus respondit.*

- [C]aepio cos. indelegem Ti. Claudiam Assilium  
 tr< i > b( unum ) pl( ebis ) interpellantem profectionem  
 [ s ] uam l[ i ] ctores trigem reddeterbuit.  
 185 [ Q. ] Fabius Maximus a Viriath{ i } o devictus de-  
 [ f ] ormem cum hostibus pacem fecit. Q. Occius  
 [ . . . . . ] i n insidiis Lu[ s ] sitanorum fortissime  
 [ pugnavit. . ] i nae devota est aqua An{ n } io. aqua  
 [ Marcia in Capi ] tolium contra Sibyllae carmina  
 190 [ perducta. ]

176. l. Sapiente for Salasso. 178. l. T. Manlius for Uemilius. 182. l. Claudium  
 Asellum. 184. l. . . . ens deterruit; cf. p. 112.

## Col. viii.

- Cn. Pisone C. Polli o cos. B. C. 139.  
 Chaldaei urbe ti[ ] 20 letters  
 A. Cabinius vernd[ e ] . . . . . rogationem tulit  
 suffragium per ta[ bellam ferri. . . . . ]  
 195 Servilius Caepio a[ b ] equitibus quos periculo  
 obiecerat clavo [ ictus ] 15 letters  
 Audax Minurus < D > ita[ lco ] 17 „  
 Viriathum iugula[ verunt. ]  
 lib( er ) [ lv ]  
 200 P. Sc[ i ] pione D. Iunio [ cos. ]  
 interfectores Viri[ athi ] . . . . . praemium  
 negatum. c[ um ] Scipi[ on ] em Nasicam et  
 decemviru[ m co ] s. Licini[ us ] et Curiatius  
 trib( uni ) pl( ebis ) in carc[ er ] em [ c ] oll[ ocarent, . . . . . ]  
 205 precibus populi mul[ t ] a re[ missa. . . . . ]  
 trib( unus ) pl( ebis ) pro commodis pop[ uli ] . . . . .  
 omnib( us ) lucti expiravit. co[ . ] un[ . ] . . . . . de-  
 sertores in comitio virgis cae[ si ] sestertiis  
 singulis venierunt.  
 210 P. Africanus cum L. Cottam [ accu ] sar[ et ] . . . . .  
 magnitudinem nom[ inis . . ] . cae[ . . . . . ]  
 Lusitani vastati. a{ n } N[ uman ] tin[ is ] clades accepta.  
 Diodotus Tryphon An[ tioc ] hum [ regem occi-  
 dit Suriague potitus e[ st. ] ]

Book 55.  
 B. C. 138.

215 *M. Aemilio C. Hostilio M[a]ncino* [cos.

B. C. 137.

*Decimus Brutus in Hispania re bene gesta**Oblivionis flumen planus transivit.*

191. l. *M. Popilli*[o for *C. Polli*[o. 192. l. *urbe et Ital*[ia; cf. p. 113. 193.  
 l. *Gabinius*. 201. l. *interfectoribus*. 203. l. *Decimum Brutum* for *decemviru*[m.  
 207. l. (ab) *omnib(us) luctus*. 214. l. *Syriaque*. 217. l. *Oblivionem* and *primus* for  
*planus*.

	Fr. (a).	Fr. (b).	Fr. (c).	Fr. (d).
	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
	] <i>Sullanis</i> [	<i>f</i> ] <i>amili</i> [	235 ] <i>hif</i> [	] <i>vir</i> [
	] <i>neum</i> [	] [	] [	. . .
220	] <i>e non re</i> [	] [	] [	
	] [	] <i>mon</i> [	. . .	
	<i>co</i> ] <i>s</i> .	230 ] <i>v c</i> [		
	] <i>. samin</i> [	] <i>is me</i> . [		
	] <i>avit p</i> [	<i>cu</i> ] <i>stodia</i> [		
225	] . [	] [		
	. . . . .	] [		
		. . . . .		

1. Cf. Livy 37. 46.

2. Cf. 37. 47.

3. ] *s* is probably *Aetoli*] *s*, for it is difficult to see what chapter can be referred to if not 51; but *pax iterum data est* somewhat perverts the truth, since the embassy of the Aetolians was summarily ordered to depart under threats of punishment and no terms were offered by the Senate. A negative would seem to have been omitted.

*P. Lepidinus*: his correct name was P. Licinius (37. 51). *maximus* is a repetition of part of his title.

6. [. . . . .] *ant*: this word must be corrupt; *tenuit* or *retinuit* (cf. 37. 51) would be expected.

*Anf[i]ocho regi pax data*: cf. 37. 55.

*Lusitani* [*vastati*]: cf. 37. 57 and for *vastati* ll. 13, 83, and 212.

7. Two events seem to be confused here, the Rhodian embassy about Soli (ch. 56 *ad fin.*) and the foundation of Bononia (ch. 57), the latter being what is really meant, as shown by the intervening mention of the Lusitanians. *de Soli* [*s*], if more than a mere interpolation from ch. 56, probably represents *colonia* or *de Gallis*.

8-10. Cf. 37. 57; *destitit* is the word used by Livy.

12. Cf. 38. 1-9.

13. Cf. 38. 12 sqq. *in Pamphylia*, as Prof. Kornemann remarks, is not strictly accurate, the Gallograeci being defeated in Galatia.

14. Probably [*Phrygi*] *a* or [*Asia tot*] *a*.



14-17. For the story of Ortiagon's wife see 38. 24. *captian* must be *captiva*; but *uxor* is much wanted and *nobilis* is probably corrupt. Possibly *an nobilis* is due to a reminiscence of the words *Ancyram nobilem* which occur at the beginning of the chapter.

*admit* . . . also seems to be a corruption of a word meaning 'promised,' while *poscentem* is for *pensantem*, the word used by Livy.

17. On the right of intermarriage granted to the Campanians see Livy 38. 36, where the event is placed in B.C. 188, and is the consequence of the census ordered to be taken in B.C. 189 which is mentioned in ch. 28. The papyrus records the event mentioned in ch. 36, but puts it in the place corresponding to ch. 28. Cf. note on ll. 44-5.

18. Cf. 38. 30.

19. Cf. 38. 35.

20. Cf. 38. 40-1.

21-3. Cf. 38. 42.

24. Cf. 38. 42.

25-7. Cf. 38. 50-3. Though *die dicta* or *dicto* is necessary for the construction, it is very likely that the scribe wrote *dies dicta* or *dictus*.

27-8. Cf. 38. 55, 58-60.

30-1. Cf. 39. 2.

32-3. Cf. 39. 3.

33-5. Cf. 39. 6-7.

36. Cf. 39. 6.

37-41. Cf. 39. 9-19.

41-2. *His[pan[i] subacti*: cf. 39. 21, referring to the victory of C. Atinius.

42-3. Cf. 39. 22.

44-5. Cf. 39. 22, where the incursion of the Gauls is described. But the apparent mention of Marcellus refers to ch. 54, where it is stated that in B.C. 183 they retired to their own country, Marcellus being then consul (cf. also ch. 45). The epitomizer seems therefore to have made the same kind of mistake as in connexion with the concession to the Campanians; cf. l. 17, note.

45-7. Cf. 39. 22 *L. Scipio ludos . . . quos bello Antiochi vovisse sese dicebat ex collata ad id pecunia . . . fecit*.

48. Cf. 39. 23.

49. The defeat of the Ligurians by the two consuls occurs in 39. 32, and the next event related is the elections. What *illis accepta* refers to is not clear. Possibly *multa mi[llia] capta* was meant (cf. 39. 32 *multa millia hominum in iis cepit*); or *illis* may represent part of *cladis*, and *in* or *a Hispanis* may be supplied (cf. ll. 174-5 and 212), the reference being to the defeat mentioned in ch. 30. This however was soon remedied, and a mention of this campaign would have been expected to precede instead of following the allusion to the Ligurian war.

50. Cf. 39. 33.

51. Cf. 39. 41.

52-6. Cf. 39. 42. If . . . ] *Gallia* is not corrupt it is out of place, and ought to follow *quod*.

57. Cf. 39. 44.

58. Cf. 39. 45.

59-63. Cf. 39. 46.

63-4. A reference to the capture and death of Philopoemen at the hands of the Messenians probably occurred here; cf. 39. 49-50.

64. *Han[nibal]*: a reference to his death; cf. 39. 51.

67. Cf. 39. 56.

68. Perhaps [*Hispani*] should be restored before *bellum*; cf. 40. 1.

70-1. Cf. 40. 4. Prof. Reid suggests *in mare{m} [f]ugien[s se dedit (or iecit)*. Livy's phrase is *in mare sese deiecit*.

72. Cf. 40. 6-16. It is not clear whether *per patrem coactu* in l. 73 also refers to the accusation against Demetrius or to his death by poisoning, which is described in 40. 24. *coactu* does not seem to be right on either hypothesis.

74. Cf. 40. 18.

75. Cf. 40. 29. The restoration is however rather long for the lacuna.

76. Cf. 40. 35.

77. Cf. 40. 39-41.

78-80. Cf. 40. 44 *eo anno rogatio primum lata est ab L. Villio tribuno plebis quot annos nati quemque magistratum peterent caperentque*.

81. Cf. 40. 45.

82. Cf. 40. 45-6. *composita inimicitia* may be supplied. After this several columns are lost, corresponding to the break between 657. iv and v.

83. *adversus Cha[r]taginienses*: i.e. the war with Masinissa; cf. Epit. 48 ad fin. *Carthaginienses cum adversus foedus bellum Masinissae intulissent*...

*Lusitani va[stati]*; cf. l. 212. The reference is to the treacherous attack of Sulpicius Galba (cf. l. 98), on which see Appian, *Iber.* 59-60, Orosius, iv. 21. 10, Val. Max. ix. 62, and Sueton. *Galba* 3. Epit. 48 has *Ser. Sulpicius Galba praetor male adversus Lusitanos pugnavit*, which has generally been interpreted as implying a defeat of the Romans. But, as Kornemann remarks, it is now clear that *male* means not 'unsuccessfully' but 'dishonourably.'

84. Probably *Ceth[ecus]*, i.e. *Cethegus*; cf. l. 14 *Origiacontis* for *Ortiagontis*. The incident is not recorded elsewhere, nor is any C. Cornelius Cethegus known at this period. L. Cornelius Cethegus was one of the accusers of Galba (Epit. 49) and M. Cornelius Cethegus was consul in B.C. 160.

*Decim* seems to be corrupt for *Decimi* or *Decii*, and *su* is very likely the beginning of a cognomen. What *a. ictam* (or *auctam*) in l. 85 means is obscure; Reid suggests *ancillam*. Kornemann prefers *Deci[u]m . . . ingenu[u]m*, comparing Val. Max. vi. 1. 10 *quod cum ingenuo adolescentulo stupri commercium habuisset*. The doubtful *u* after *d c* can be *i*.

87-93. 'Book 49. Consulship of L. Marcius Censorinus and M'. Manilius. The Third Punic War began. The inhabitants of Utica willingly assisted (the Romans). The Carthaginians surrendered; being ordered to transfer all their possessions to another site they returned . . .'

90. *auxiliate* is for *auxiliati* (sc. *sunt*), and *locant* perhaps conceals the object (? *Romanis*). *locant auxilium*, though in itself a possible phrase, is unlikely, for the verbs in the papyrus are uniformly in the perfect tense and generally come at the end of the sentence.

91-3. Cf. Epit. 49 *tunc cum ex auctoritate patrum iuberent* (sc. *consules*) *ut in alium locum dum a mari decem milia passuum ne minus remotum oppidum facerent, indignitate rei ad rebellandum Carthaginienses compulerunt*. For *facerent* Gronovius had conjectured *transferrent*, which seems to have been the verb employed in l. 92. The embassy of the Carthaginians mentioned in ll. 90-1 came to Rome (cf. Epit. *legati triginta Romam venerunt per quos se Carthaginienses dederunt*); but the demand to evacuate Carthage was made by the consuls after reaching Africa, and if *redierunt* refers to the return of the ambassadors to Carthage, the statement of the papyrus is inaccurate. It is more likely that

*redierunt* refers to the renewal of the war. *m* after *transferr<sup>e</sup>* may well be a mistake for *in*. The whole phrase would then be an antithesis to *in dedicionem venerunt* in l. 91.

93-5. The subject of *pepulerunt* must be the Carthaginians, since the siege began with the repulse of the Romans. Lines 94-5 refer to the distinction gained by Scipio Aemilianus in the early engagements; cf. Epit. 49 and Appian, *Pun.* 98-9.

95-7. This refers to the occasion on which Scipio saved the Roman army at Nepheris; cf. Epit. and Appian, *Pun.* 102-3.

97-8. Who this Charidemus was is unknown. *poel* is possibly *poetam*.

98-100. Cf. Epit., where the prosecution of Galba is described more fully. In l. 99 either *productus* agreeing with Galba, or *producti* agreeing with *fili* may be read.

101. Unless *Philippi* is an error for *Persei*, Reid is probably right in correcting *tui se Philippi* to *Persei se Philippum*; cf. Epit. *Persei se filium ferens et mutato nomine Philippus vocatus . . . totam Macedoniam aut voluntate incolentium aut armis occupavit*.

103-5. The Epitome of Book 49 ends with the description of the revolt of Macedonia, but *carminibus* in l. 105 strongly suggests that this passage refers to the celebration of the games of Dis at Terentum in accordance with the Sibylline books, a fact which is mentioned near the beginning of Epit. 49 *Diti patri ludi ad Terentum ex praecepto librorum Sibyllinorum facti, qui ante annum centesimum primo Punico bello quingentesimo et altero anno ab urbe condita facti erant*. This is confirmed by a passage in Censorinus, *De die natali* 17. 8, to which our attention was called by Kornemann and Wissowa, *de quartorum ludorum anno triplex sententia est. Antias enim et Varro et Livius relatos esse prodiderunt L. Marcio Censorino, M. Manilio consulibus post Romam conditam anno sexcentesimo quinto. at Piso Censorius et Cn. Gellius sed et Cassius Hemina qui illo tempore vivebat post annum factos tertium affirmant Cn. Cornelio Lentulo, L. Mummius Achaico consulibus, id est anno sexcentesimo octavo. in quindecim virorum autem commentariis notantur sub anno sexcentesimo vicesimo octavo Mam. Aemilio Lepido, L. Aurelio Oreste consulibus*. The restorations of ll. 103-4 are due to Wissowa, who (*Religion und Kultus der Römer*, p. 364) considers that Livy's date for the games (B.C. 149) is wrong, and that Cassius Hemina was right in assigning them to B.C. 146.

107-8. Cf. Epit. 50 *Thessalia cum et illam invadere armis atque occupare Pseudo-philippus vellet per legatos Romanorum auxiliis Achaeorum defensa est*.

109. Possibly the death of Cato was referred to here, this being the only place in the papyrus where a mention of it can be inserted. That event is referred to this year by Cicero (*Brut.* 15), and cf. l. 56 where *Catone* is corrupted into *lanatone*.

110. The death of Prusias is noticed in Epit. If *Prusias* in l. 109 is right, *positus* is probably corrupt for some word meaning 'killed' (? *occisus*, cf. l. 123); but *(de)positus* is just possible, for Prusias seems to have been first abandoned by his subjects (Justin 34. 4). *depono* in the sense of 'depose' is however not classical. Kornemann would retain *positus* and supply *Nicomedes* in l. 109.

110-5. The embassy which gave rise to the jest of Cato is also mentioned in the Epitome immediately after the death of Prusias, though the incident took place in Prusias' lifetime.

Line 111 is very corrupt. *si* before *sunt* must be the termination of a participle such as *missi*; but what is *pugnamenta*? *Pergamenos* is not very satisfactory since the mention of Pergamus seems unnecessary after *ad Attalum regem*. The names of the ambassadors are given only by Polybius (37. 1<sup>h</sup>) as Marcus Licinius (gouty), Aulus Mancinus (broken head), and Lucius Malleolon (the fool). The last name can now be corrected to Manlius, which is meant by *Manilius* in the papyrus as is shown by the cognomen *Volso* (Vulso). The Manlii Vulsones were a distinguished patrician family in



the earlier part of the republic, and members of it were consuls as late as B.C. 189 and 178. *Marco* in l. 111 is probably *M(arcus)* followed by the first part of another name which was more probably a cognomen (? *Archias*) than *Licinius*.

The first half of l. 113 seems to be corrupt. ]a may be the termination of *test]a* (cf. Polybius, l. c. κεραμίδος εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐμπεσοῦσης); but a participle is also required, and even if there were space for it before *test]a* the order of *capite . . . quondam* would be awkward.

115-6. This event is omitted in the Epitome. Should *deprehensi* be corrected to *deprehensus*, and some word like *repuls]am* be supplied? A certain tribune C. Scantinius Capitolinus was accused of *stuprum* by M. Claudius Marcellus, as aedile, in B.C. 222 (Val. Max. vi. 1. 7; cf. Plutarch, *Vit. Marc.* 2), but the Marcus Scantinius here must be different. As Warde Fowler remarks, it seems very unlikely that there were two Scantinii condemned for *stuprum*, one in B.C. 208, the other in B.C. 149, and that there should also be a *Lex Scantinia* on the same offence, of which the date is unknown (Mommsen, *Strafrecht*, p. 703). He therefore thinks that the present passage refers to the passing of the *Lex Scantinia*, and that ]am is corrupt for the termination of *plebiscitum*, while *in stupro deprehensi* is for *de in stupro deprehensis*.

118-21. 'Masinissa dying in extreme old age left four children, and his kingdom was divided by Aemilianus among the elder sons.' Cf. Epit. *Masinissa Numidia rex maior nonaginta annis decessit . . . adeo etiam in senectam viguit ut post sextum et octogesimum annum filium genuerit. inter tres liberos eius, maximum nalu Micipsam, Gulussam, Mastanabalem . . . P. Scipio Aemilianus . . . partes administrandi regni divisit*. The fourth legitimate son who received no share of the kingdom was no doubt the one born when his father was 86; but other writers differ from Livy regarding the number of Masinissa's children. The death of Masinissa is placed by Mommsen at the end of B.C. 149, but according to the papyrus it took place early in B.C. 148.

121-2. Cf. Epit. *ex tribus legatis qui ad Masinissam missi fuerant, Claudius Marcellus coorta tempestate obrutus est*.

122-3. Cf. Epit. *Carthaginienses Hasdrubalem Masinissae nepotem . . . proditiōis suspectum in curia occiderunt*. Appian (*Pun.* 111) in describing the death of Hasdrubal uses the equivalent of *subsellium* οἱ δὲ τύπτοντες αὐτὸν τοῖς ὑποβάθοις κατέβαλον. ]a is very likely *fragmentum* in some form. Kornemann aptly compares Orosius, iv. 22. 8 *Asdrubal . . . subselliorum fragmentis . . . occisus est*.

123-4. Cf. Epit. *P. Scipio Aemilianus cum aedilitatem peteret . . . legibus solutus et consul creatus est*.

125. The Epitome is more explicit: *M'. Manilius aliquot urbes circumpositas Carthagini expugnauit*.

126-7. Cf. Epit. *Pseudophilippus in Macedonia caeso cum exercitu P. Iuventio praetore a Q. Caecilio victus captusque est et recepta Macedonia*. Mommsen places the defeat of Juventius doubtfully in B.C. 149, and the victory of Metellus in B.C. 148. It now appears that both events took place in B.C. 148.

127-9. The burning of the *sacrarium* is not mentioned in Epit., but is explained, as Kornemann and Wissowa point out, by Obsequens 19 (78) *vasto incendio Romae cum regia quoque ureretur, sacrarium et ex duabus altera laurus ex mediis ignibus inviolata exstiterunt*, upon which passage the restorations of ll. 128-9 are based. *soci* is corrupt, possibly for *Opis*.

130. The blank space between ll. 128 and 131 is barely sufficient for two intervening lines, and there is the further difficulty that the letters of the books are elsewhere placed near the middle of the line, so that the termination of the title ought to have been visible here. But since verbs are generally placed at the end of the sentence in the papyrus

*inviolata* or an equivalent is required for l. 129, and to suppose the omission of the title '*liber li*' and to assign ll. 131-143 to the 50th Book would introduce a serious conflict between the papyrus and the extant Epitome with regard to the arrangement of Books 50-53. If the title therefore of Book 51 was omitted, this was probably a mere accident.

132-4. This passage is very corrupt. No Appius is known in connexion with the operations at Carthage at this period. *crudelissime* suggests that *Appius* is a mistake for *Hasdrubal*, and that ll. 132-3 refer to the cruelty of Hasdrubal towards the Roman prisoners described by Appian (*Pun.* 118).

135-6. Cf. Epit. *quod legati populi Romani ab Achaeis pulsati sint Corinthi*. The Achaean praetor referred to was Critolaus.

136. The simplest correction for *subalti* is *subacti*, but no victory over the Lusitanians at this period is known. Appian (*Iber.* 60-1) passes straight from the treachery of Galba (cf. ll. 83 and 98) to the defeats of Vetilius and Plautius (cf. ll. 146-8, note). The Epitome does not mention Spanish affairs in this book, but gives an account of Viriathus' earlier successes in Book 52. If however there was really a victory over the Lusitanians in B.C. 147 the explanation may be as follows. The reverse sustained by Vetilius recorded by Appian (*Iber.* 61) is represented as the direct and immediate result of a preliminary success obtained by the Romans, but it is not unlikely that Appian has combined the events of two separate campaigns by Vetilius into one and that *Lusitani subacti* here refers to his success, while his reverse took place in the next year, B.C. 146; cf. ll. 146-8, note. The papyrus mentions only one defeat by the Lusitanians.

138. The destruction of Carthage is mentioned in the Epitome before the attack upon the embassy at Corinth, but owing to the strictly chronological system adopted by the author of the papyrus it is here correctly placed in B.C. 146.

139-43. These lines, as Kornemann and Reid suggest, probably refer to the story of the death of Hasdrubal's wife, who first threw her two children into the flames; cf. Epit. 51.

145. Cf. Epit. *Corinthon ex senatus consulto diruit*.

146. *uxore*: probably, as Kornemann remarks, this entry refers to the death of Diaeus by poison after killing his wife; cf. Pausan. vii. 16. 2-4, Zonaras ix. 86, *Auctor de vir. ill.* 60.

147-8. *a Lusitanis clades] accepta* (cf. l. 175) may refer to the defeats of Vetilius and C. Plautius mentioned in Epit., or to one of them; cf. note on l. 136.

150. A certain C. Petronius who was an ambassador to Attalus and Prusias in B.C. 156 is mentioned in Polyb. 32. 26, but no M. Petronius is known at this period.

151. *adversus*: this probably refers to the dispatch of the consul Q. Fabius Maximus Aemilianus against Viriathus; cf. Epit. 52 *tantumque terroris is hostis intulit ut adversus eum consulari opus esset et duce et exercitu*, and note on l. 167. If the reverse mentioned in l. 148 (cf. ll. 147-8, note) refers to Vetilius, possibly the defeat of Plautius occurred in B.C. 145, instead of 146, as has been generally supposed.

153. L. Metellus is perhaps the brother of Quintus and the consul in B.C. 142; cf. l. 167, note. But the mention of *consulatum* suggests a reference to the two failures of Q. Metellus' candidature for the consulship before he obtained it for B.C. 143, and Kornemann is probably right in regarding L. as a mistake for Q. On the confusion of the two brothers cf. notes on ll. 164-6 and 167. For *invis[us plebi]* cf. *Auct. de viris illust.* 61 *invisus plebi ob nimiam severitatem et ideo post duas repulsas consul aegre factus*.

161-3. Reid is no doubt right in connecting this passage with the story told by Valerius Maximus (v. 1. 5) of Rhoetogenes' children, to save whom Q. Metellus abandoned the siege of a town in Spain.

164-6. This passage, elucidated by Reid and Wissowa, clearly refers to the two exploits of Q. Occius (cf. l. 186) in Spain recorded by Val. Max. (iii. 2. 21), whose account



of the second is *idem Pyressum* (v.l. *Pyresum*) *nobilitate ac virtute Celtiberos omnes praestantem . . . succumbere sibi coegit; nec erubuit flagrantissimi pectoris iuvenis gladium ei suum et sagulum . . . tradere. ille vero etiam petiit ut hospitii iure inter se iuncti essent . . .* This corresponds to a *Tyresio*, &c.; *occidit* in l. 164 belongs to the story of the first exploit (the killing of a Celtiberian warrior) described in the lost column. In Val. Max. *sagulum* is coupled with *gladium*, but the order of words in ll. 164-5 indicates that *saguloque remi[ss]o* is an ablative absolute and *saguloque* is not to be altered to *sagulumque*. With regard to the name of the Celtiberian, the form *Tyresius* found in l. 164 is supported by Orosius v. 8. 1 (a reference which we owe to Dr. Greenidge), where a *Celticus princeps* called *Thyresus* is mentioned in connexion with the pacification of Spain after the fall of Numantia. Clearly the same name, and very likely the same person are meant, so that the MSS. of Val. Max. are probably wrong in giving the forms *Pyressus* or *Pyresus*. There is also a slight divergence between the papyrus and Val. Max. concerning the date of Q. Occius' achievements, which the former assigns to B.C. 142 while Val. Max. represents Q. Occius as *Q. Metello consuli legatus*, thus indicating the year B.C. 143. Since Q. Occius in any case remained in Spain until B.C. 140 (l. 186) and Q. Metellus was there in both B.C. 143 and 142 (l. 167, note) the inconsistency is trifling, but *Q. Metello consuli* may easily be a mistake for *L. Metello consuli* or *Q. Metello proconsuli*; cf. notes on ll. 153-6 and 167.

167. This fact that L. Metellus, consul in B.C. 142, went to Spain and was there defeated by the Lusitanians is new, and is the first of a series of references to the war against Viriathus which throw much light on its history. Owing to the extreme brevity of the extant Epitome of Books 53 and 54 the principal authority has hitherto been Appian, whose account of the Spanish war is preserved in a single very corrupt codex. The generally received chronology from B.C. 143-37, e.g. that of Mommsen, is as follows:—

B.C. 143. Q. Caecilius Metellus, governor of Northern Spain, is successful, but the praetor Quinctius, governor of Southern Spain, is defeated by Viriathus.

B.C. 142. Q. Metellus as proconsul continues to be successful. Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus, consul, who succeeded Quinctius in Southern Spain according to Appian (*Iber.* 67), invades Lusitania, but is compelled to retreat.

B.C. 141. Q. Fabius Maximus as proconsul is at first victorious, but is afterwards defeated and compelled to conclude a disgraceful peace. Q. Pompeius, consul, the new governor of Northern Spain, is also defeated.

B.C. 140. Q. Caepio, consul, the new governor of Southern Spain, invades Lusitania. (The death of Viriathus is placed in this year by e.g. Peter, *Zeittafeln*, p. 69.) Q. Pompeius remains as proconsul in Northern Spain.

B.C. 139. Viriathus is killed at the instigation of Q. Caepio, who remains in Southern Spain as proconsul. M. Popillius, consul, became governor of Northern Spain.

B.C. 138. M. Popillius, proconsul, is defeated by the Numantines. D. Junius Brutus, consul, becomes governor of Southern Spain, and in this year and B.C. 137-6 subdues the country, and is the first Roman to cross the river Oblivio.

From this chronology the papyrus has important variations after B.C. 143, of which year the account is unfortunately lost.

B.C. 142. Victory of the Lusitanians over the consul L. Metellus, who must therefore have been governor of the Southern province. The success of his brother, Q. Metellus, in the Northern province, which is mentioned in Epit. 53, was no doubt referred to in the lost portion of the account of B.C. 142.

B.C. 141. Victory of Q. Fabius Maximus over Viriathus (ll. 171-2). Defeat of Q. Pompeius (l. 174).



B.C. 140. Q. Caepio delayed in starting for his province (ll. 182-4). Q. Fabius is defeated, and concludes a disgraceful peace with Viriathus (ll. 185-6). Q. Occius distinguishes himself in an engagement with the Lusitanians, in which the Romans fell into an ambush (ll. 186-8).

B.C. 139. Death of Viriathus (ll. 197-8).

B.C. 138. Refusal of a reward to the murderers of Viriathus (ll. 201-2). Victory over the Lusitanians, and defeat by the Numantines (l. 212).

B.C. 137. D. Brutus crosses the river Oblivio (ll. 216-7).

Comparing the two arrangements, we may note that no conflict arises in connexion with events in Northern Spain, nor in B.C. 138-7 with those in Southern Spain. The death of Viriathus is assigned by the papyrus to B.C. 139, not 140, thus confirming the opinion of Mommsen; and if our conjecture in l. 147 is correct, the papyrus perhaps supports the date assigned to the defeat of Plautius. But in the years B.C. 142-0 there are marked differences between the new evidence and the received chronology. Beginning at the end, only one campaign (B.C. 139) is obtainable for the governorship of Q. Caepio instead of two (B.C. 140-39). The governorship of Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus is assigned to the years B.C. 141-0 instead of B.C. 142-1; and while the papyrus agrees with the ordinary chronology in placing his victory in B.C. 141, his defeat and the peace are assigned not to B.C. 141 but to B.C. 140. Lastly in B.C. 142 the papyrus tells us of a hitherto unknown governor of Southern Spain, the consul L. Metellus.

It will hardly be disputed that Livy's chronology of the war against Viriathus, now that more detailed information on it is obtained, carries much more weight than that of Appian or the other still inferior authorities. It remains to investigate how far in the light of the new evidence there is a real inconsistency between Livy and the other authorities, and to explain, if possible, the origin of the divergences. As to the governorship of Caepio there is no great difficulty. The events related by Appian (*Iber.* 70-1) need occupy no more than one year. The fact that Valerius Maximus (ix. 6. 4) and Eutropius (iv. 16) speak of Caepio as consul when Viriathus was assassinated, and therefore assign his principal campaign in Spain to B.C. 140 instead of B.C. 139, is of trifling importance in the face of the explanation afforded by the papyrus (ll. 182-4) of his delay in starting. Moreover, although the campaign in the summer of B.C. 140 was conducted by Fabius Maximus Servilianus, Caepio may well have arrived in Spain before the end of the year. The reason why two years have hitherto been assigned to his governorship was that he had to occupy the interval between Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus and D. Brutus, and that the former of these had been assigned to B.C. 142-1.

Nor does the transference of Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus' governorship to B.C. 141-0 produce any serious conflict with other statements. That Livy assigned these two years to him rather than B.C. 142-1 might have been guessed from the extant Epitome, for he was consul in B.C. 142, yet Epit. 53 mentions his successes as proconsul, and Epit. 54 (*ad fin.*) his defeat. But these indications that Fabius was already proconsul when he became governor of Southern Spain—a fact which is made quite clear by the papyrus—were disregarded, partly owing to the statement of Orosius (v. 4) that Fabius in his consulship (i.e. in B.C. 142) fought against Viriathus, partly owing to an inference from Appian, *Iber.* 67, where the opening words τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους Κοῖντω μὲν ὁ ἀδελφὸς Αἰμιλιανοῦ Φάβιος Μάξιμος Σερονιλιανὸς (Αἰμιλιανὸς MS.) ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν διάδοχος have in connexion with the preceding events been supposed to refer to B.C. 142. To leave for the moment the question which year Appian meant by τοῦ ἐπιόντος ἔτους, his account of Fabius Servilianus' achievements accords well enough with that of Livy. It is true that the successes of Fabius in Appian's account seem to belong to the later rather than to the earlier part of his

governorship, but it is not difficult to suppose that Appian omitted to record some trifling successes such as the capture of Baccia mentioned by Orosius (*l. c.*), probably one of the *urbes* which were *expugnatae* according to Epit. 53; cf. ll. 171-2. Two campaigns are implied by Appian, as is more clearly stated by Livy; but Appian does not call Servilianus consul. Where the facts known from Livy conflict seriously with at any rate the present text of Appian is in the events which took place between the departure of Fabius Maximus Aemilianus and the arrival of Fabius Maximus Servilianus. The governorship of Aemilianus is expressly stated by Appian to have lasted two years (*Iber.* 65). Aemilianus was consul in B.C. 145, and that the years of his governorship were B.C. 145-4 is unquestionable; cf. Epit. 52 *tantumque timoris is hostis intulit ut adversus eum consulari opus esset et duce et exercitu*. The disaster to Plautius which led to sending an experienced general is, as we have said, very likely alluded to in l. 147 of the papyrus, and l. 151 may well refer to the dispatch of Aemilianus. So far as is known, Aemilianus had both Spains under his command; but who succeeded him on his departure in B.C. 143? Northern Spain at any rate seems to have fallen to the consul for B.C. 143 Q. Caecilius Metellus (cf. Val. Max. iii. 2. 21, ix. 3. 7; Appian, *Iber.* 76), and that he remained as proconsul in B.C. 142 is attested by Epit. 53; but the question who obtained Southern Spain is very complicated. From Val. Max. ix. 3. 7, where Q. Metellus *utramque Hispaniam consul prius, deinde proconsul . . . subegisset* is the reading of the MSS., it would be inferred that Metellus was governor of both Spains; but *utramque* has been altered by some editors to *provinciam* on the ground that Metellus was only governor of Northern Spain, the governorship of Southern Spain in B.C. 143 being generally assigned to Quinctius, who is supposed to have been a praetor and to have been the immediate predecessor of Fabius Servilianus on the evidence of Appian, *Iber.* 65-7. This passage, which is very corrupt, now requires a fresh examination in the light of the new evidence. After recounting the achievements of Fabius Aemilianus in B.C. 145 and B.C. 144, Appian proceeds (ed. Mendelssohn): καὶ τότε μὲν ὁ Αἰμιλιανὸς (Ξερονιλιανὸς MS.) ἐργασάμενος ἐς Ῥώμην ἀπῆρε διαδεξαμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν Κοῖντου Πομπηίου (τοῦ) Αἰλίου. (ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Μάξιμος Αἰμιλιανὸς MS., omitted by editors). ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Οὐρίαθρος οὐχ ὁμοίως ἔτι καταφρονῶν Ἀρωνακοὺς καὶ Τίτθους καὶ Βέλλους . . . ἀπέστησεν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων. καὶ πολεμὸν ἄλλον οἶδε ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐπολέμουν ὃν ἐκ πόλεως αὐτῶν μιᾶς Νομαντίνον ἡγοῦνται . . . καὶ συνάξω καὶ τότε ἐς ἓν μετ' Οὐρίαθρον. Οὐρίαθρος μὲν ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἐτέρῳ στρατηγῷ Ῥωμαίων Κοῖντίῳ (Q. Pompeio in a 16th century translation of Appian made from another MS., now lost) συνεπλέκετο, καὶ . . . ἔκτεινε τῶν Κοῖντίου ἐς (τοὺς Κοῖντιέιους MS.) χιλίους καὶ σημεῖα τινα ἤρπασε . . . Κοῖντίου (Κιντίου MS.) διὰ δειλίαν καὶ ἀπειρίαν οὐκ ἐπιβοηθοῦντος, ἀλλ' ἐν Κορδύβῃ χειμάζοντος ἐκ μέσου μετοπώρου . . . τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους Κοῖντῷ (Κοῖντίῳ other editors) μὲν ὁ ἀδελφὸς Αἰμιλιανοῦ Φάβιος Μάξιμος Ξερονιλιανὸς (Αἰμιλιανὸς MS.) ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν διάδοχος. From this confused and corrupt account it has been generally inferred that a praetor Quinctius succeeded Fabius Aemilianus in Southern Spain in B.C. 143, was defeated in that year and was succeeded in B.C. 142 by Q. Fabius Servilianus. We now know that in Livy's account the governor in B.C. 142 was the consul for that year, L. Metellus, and that Fabius Servilianus became governor in B.C. 141. Assuming that Livy is right, the discrepancy may be explained in two ways: either Appian has made several mistakes in his facts or the MS. is still more deeply corrupt than it has appeared to be. On the first hypothesis Quinctius or Quintus, the supposed praetor, may be retained, for owing to the loss of a column between Cols. vi and vii of the papyrus it is uncertain who in Livy's history was the governor of Southern Spain in B.C. 143. We must however assume that Appian omitted L. Metellus altogether, thus setting the chronology wrong by a year. But considering the corruptions in the proper names in Appian, *Iber.* 65-7, it is, we think, far more likely that the story of the defeat of the supposed Quinctius, who appears



nowhere else in history, is a distortion of the defeat of L. Metellus mentioned by Livy. With two brothers, Q. Metellus and L. Metellus, governing the two Spains in 142 B.C. it is not at all surprising that mistakes should arise, and if Κοῖντιος in *Iber.* 66-7 is a corruption of Δούκιος or Καικίλιος, there will be no conflict between Livy and Appian as to the predecessor of Fabius Servilianus. Dismissing therefore the supposed Quinctius, there still remains the governorship of Southern Spain for B.C. 143 to be accounted for. The passage in Appian referring to Aemilianus' successor Κοῖντου Πομπηίου Αὔλου is obviously quite corrupt. The insertion of τοῦ before Αὔλου (Schweighauser, followed by Mendelssohn) does little to mend matters. There is no point in the mention of the father's praenomen and there is clearly a confusion in the text between this person and the Κοῖντου Πομπηίου Αὔλου mentioned in *Iber.* 76. That Q. Pompeius was consul in B.C. 141 and succeeded Q. Metellus as governor of Northern Spain in the same year (cf. l. 174). His cognomen was Rufus, so that editors bracket Αὔλου in ch. 76. In any case this Quintus Pompeius cannot be the successor of Aemilianus in B.C. 143, and the best course seems to be to fall back on the statement of Valerius Maximus (ix. 3. 7, *v. sup.*) that Q. Metellus governed *utramque Hispaniam*. Seeing that Aemilianus governed both provinces for two years, there is not the least difficulty in supposing that his successor did the same for one, but that in the second year a separate governor was sent to the Southern province. On this hypothesis we would suggest that Κοῖντου Πομπηίου Αὔλου in *Iber.* 65 is corrupt for Κοῖντου Καικιλίου Μετέλλου, and that the following words ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Μάξιμος Αἰμιλιανός, which are simply omitted by editors, really contained a reference to the brother of Q. Metellus, L. Metellus. The sentence is in that case incomplete and the lacuna may well have supplied some details about the events of B.C. 143-2 which would have made ch. 66 much more intelligible. Our conclusion therefore is that the divergence between Livy and Appian's account of the war against Viriathus is due less to mistakes on the part of Appian than to the extraordinary perversions of the proper names in the MS. of the *Iberica*, and that Appian's chronology of this war can without much difficulty be made consistent with the newly found material.

For the sake of clearness we append in parallel columns a list of the governors of Southern Spain from B.C. 145-37 as they are known from the two epitomes of Livy, compared with the list given by Mommsen. Concerning the governors of Northern Spain there is no dispute, Q. Fabius Maximus Aemilianus holding office in B.C. 145-4, Q. Caecilius Metellus in B.C. 143-2, Q. Pompeius Rufus in B.C. 141-0, and M. Popillius Laenas in B.C. 139-8:—

B.C.	Livy.	Mommsen.
145-4	Q. Fabius Maximus Aemilianus.	Q. Fab. Max. Aemilianus.
143	(Q. Caecilius Metellus cons.?)	Quinctius praetor.
142	L. Caecilius Metellus cons.	Q. Fab. Max. Servilianus cons.
141	Q. Fab. Max. Servilianus proc.	Q. Fab. Max. Servilianus proc.
140	Q. Fab. Max. Servilianus proc. (Later Q. Servilius Caepio cons.)	Q. Servilius Caepio cons.
139	Q. Servilius Caepio proc.	Q. Servilius Caepio proc.
138	D. Iunius Brutus cons.	D. Iunius Brutus cons.

168-9. Epit. mentions the triumph of Mummius at the end of Book 52, *L. Mummius de Achaëis triumphavit, signa aerea marmoreaque et tabulas pictas in triumpho tulit*. Epit. 53 begins with a mention of Appius Claudius, consul in B.C. 143; hence the triumph of Mummius has naturally been assigned to B.C. 145, the year after the destruction of Corinth.



The distribution of the works of art mentioned by the papyrus is to be connected, as Kornemann remarks, not with Mummius' triumph, which can hardly have taken place so late as B.C. 142, but with his censorship which occurred in that year. By *oppida* are meant the country towns of Italy, and perhaps of the provinces as well.

171-2. On the victory of Q. Fabius (Maximus Servilianus) cf. Epit. 53 *a Q. Fabio proconsule pars magna Lusitaniae expugnatis aliquot urbibus recepta est*, and, for the chronology, l. 167, note.

174. This defeat of Q. Pompeius by the Numantines agrees with the received chronology; cf. Epit. 54 *ad init.* and l. 167, note. For *d[evictu]s* cf. l. 185.

175. The defeat of the Romans by the Scordisci, a Pannonian tribe, is a new fact. The Roman commander may have been the other consul, Gn. Caepio.

176. The corruption of *Sapiente* into *Salasso* seems to be due to a reminiscence of the campaign of Appius Claudius against the Salassi in B.C. 143; cf. Epit. 53.

177-8. What was this obviously important measure due to Appius Claudius, one of the most striking figures at this period? The papyrus fails us at the most critical point, and in the absence of any other reference to this reform, we are reduced to conjectures. We have adopted in l. 177 *duos [delectus]*, a suggestion of Mr. Warde Fowler based on *duo s[tipendia]* proposed by Dr. Greenidge. The old Roman system of a single annual levy in which the soldiers swore allegiance to a general for a single campaign could not survive the growth of Rome as a world-city, and though the successive modifications which were introduced in the later period of the Republic cannot be clearly traced, it is in itself likely enough that the wars of the third and second centuries B.C. had led to the occasional or frequent holding of levies twice instead of once in the year. Such an attempt to frustrate the constant demands of the generals as we have attributed to Appius Claudius does not seem improbable, and may even be connected with the refusal of the senate a few years later to send Scipio the reinforcements which he asked for at Numantia.

178-81. Cf. Epit. 54, where the incident of the condemnation of Silanus by his father is related more fully.

182-4. These lines are very corrupt, and in the absence of any parallel account of the incident it is difficult to restore them in entirety. So much is clear that the consul Q. Caepio's departure for Spain was delayed by the interpellation of a tribune, but that Caepio successfully overcame the obstacle. It was doubtless owing to this episode that Caepio arrived in Spain late in the year after the defeat of Fabius Maximus (ll. 185-6); cf. l. 167, note. *Assilium* is for *Asellum*; cf. Gell. 3. 4, where a tribune called Claudius Asellus is mentioned as having accused the younger Scipio Africanus *postquam de Poen's triumphaverat censorque fuerat*. Since Scipio was censor in B.C. 142 (*Fast. Capitol.*), B.C. 140 is very suitable as the year of Asellus' tribunate. *reddeterbuit* is probably for *deterruit*, and if *l[ic]tores* is right *trigem* probably represents a participle ending in *ens*, e.g. *adhibens*. Omitting *indelegem*, which is hopeless, the passage may be restored thus: *Quintus Caepio consul . . . Tiberium Claudium Asellum tribunum plebis interpellantem protectionem suam lictores . . . ens deterruit*. What form the interpellation took is not clear. Did the tribune veto the Lex Curiata conferring imperium upon the consul? Possibly, as Greenidge suggests, he tried to prevent the consul from taking out his troops, as in Sall. *Jug.* 39 *consul impeditus a tribunis plebis ne quas paraverat copias secum portaret*. From the mention of the lictors it seems that Caepio actually ventured to retaliate by using force of some kind.

185-6. On the date of Fabius' defeat see l. 167, note.

186-7. Valerius Maximus (iii. 2. 21) relates two exploits of Q. Occius; cf. ll. 164-6, note. The present incident is one of the *reliqua eius opera* which Valerius Maximus passes over.

188-90. A verb such as *pugnavit* is wanted at the beginning of l. 188, and there is then not room for more than two or three letters before *inae*. Probably *devota est* is to be connected with *aqua Anio* (cf. ll. 111 and 116, where the verb does not come at the end of the sentence), and *aqua Marcia* begins a fresh sentence. On the repair of the *aqua Anio* and the construction of the *aqua Marcia* see Frontinus, *De Aquaeductibus* i. 7. He there states that in B.C. 144 the praetor Marcius Rex was commissioned to repair the Appian and Aniensian aqueducts and to construct a new one, his praetorship being extended for a year on that account. Then follows a passage which is much corrupted in the editions of Frontinus, and which we quote from the reproduction of the best MS. in C. Herschell's edition: *eo tempore decemviri dum aliis ex causis libros Sibyllinos inspicunt invenisse dicuntur* (space in MS.; supply *fas*) *aquam Martiam seu potius Anienem, de hoc enim constantius traditur, in Capitolium perducere, deque ea re in senatu M. Lepido pro collegio verba faciente actum Appio Claudio Q. Caecilio consulibus* (B.C. 143); *eandemque post annum tertium a Lucio Lentulo retractatam C. Laelio Q. Servilio consulibus* (B.C. 140), *sed utroque tempore vicisse gratiam Marcii Regis atque ita in Capitolium esse aquam perductam*. Frontinus' statements about the construction of the *aqua Marcia* are thus in complete accord with Livy, from whose history they were no doubt derived. But what is the meaning of *seu potius Anienem, de hoc enim constantius traditur*, and has this anything to do with the mention of the *aqua Anio* in l. 188? That passage in the papyrus is unfortunately extremely obscure. If *devota est* is correct, it must mean that the Anio aqueduct was consecrated to some deity; but *devota* does not seem the right word, and it is more likely to be corrupt, possibly for some word like *renovata* or *refecta*. The *aqua Marcia* began not far from Tibur, the water being apparently taken from a tributary of the river Anio from which the *aqua Anio* was also derived. But the two aqueducts were quite distinct, and *seu potius Anienem, de hoc enim constantius traditur* seems, as Reid remarks, to indicate that there were two interpretations of the oracle, one permitting the *aqua Anio* to be brought to the Capitol, the other the *aqua Marcia*, but the general opinion was in favour of the former interpretation; cf. the statement in l. 189 that the construction of the *aqua Marcia* was *contra Sibyllae carmina*. Since Frontinus implies that the *aqua Anio* was not carried up to the Capitol, to read in ll. 189-90 *aqua Anio (et) aqua Marcia in Capitolium . . . perductae* is unsatisfactory, apart from the difficulty of placing a stop after *devota est*.

192. Probably the scribe wrote *urbetilia* meaning *urbe et Italia*; cf. Val. Max. i. 3. 2 *C. Cornelius Hispallus praetor peregrinus M. Popilio Laenate Cn. Calpurnio coss. edicto Chaldaeos intra decimum diem abire ex urbe atque Italia iussit*, a passage no doubt based upon Livy.

193-4. On the *Lex Gabinia tabellaria* see Cic. *Legg.* iii. 35. Cicero says that it was *lata ab homine ignoto et sordido*, which confirms the present reference to Gabinius' base ancestry. What degree of relationship to the *verna* was alleged by Livy is uncertain. *verna[e filius]* is unlikely, for the son of a slave could not be made tribune, and though two cases at least of the son of a freedman becoming tribune are known (Mommson, *Staatsrecht*, i. p. 460), the phrase *vernae filius* does not suggest the meaning 'son of freedman' or 'of a freedwoman,' though perhaps not incompatible with it. *verna[e nepos]* is better, but of course some more indefinite word may have been employed. It has been generally supposed that A. Gabinius the tribune was the son of the Gabinius who held a command in Illyria under L. Anicius in B.C. 167 (Livy 45. 26); but this is quite uncertain.

195-6. As Warde Fowler suggests, it is probable that these two lines refer to the mutiny of Caepio's cavalry mentioned by Dio (Fr. 78 Boissvain), in consequence of his apportioning to them a specially dangerous operation. Caepio had to take refuge from



their violence in flight, and with this clue the passage may be restored on the lines which we have suggested. Since a nail is not a very effective weapon of attack, *clavo* may be altered to *clava*, a 'cudgel' or 'foil.' Reid well compares Oros. v. 9 *clavae ictu* (of Tiberius Gracchus' death).

197-8. The names of the murderers of Viriathus are not given in Epit., but occur in Appian, *Iber.* 74, where they agree with the papyrus, and in Diodorus exc. c. 24, where Nikorones is found instead of Minurus.

201-2. For the refusal of a reward to Viriathus' murderers cf. Dio, Fr. 80, and Eutropius, iv. 16. Appian (*Iber.* 74) mentions the bribe, but not the refusal, *διαφθαρέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Καϊπίωνος δώροις τε μεγάλοις καὶ ὑποσχέσει πολλαῖς*. The Epitome does not mention either, but has *Viriathus a proditoribus consilio Servilii Caepionis interfectus est*. From the fact that the refusal took place in the year after Viriathus' death it clearly came from the senate; and if there is any truth in the story of Dio and Eutropius about the answer given to the murderers that the Romans did not approve of a general being killed by his own soldiers, this must have been made by the senate, not, as they state, by Caepio.

202-5. Cf. Epit. 55 *P. Nasica, cui cognomen Serapion fuit ab irridente Curatio tribuno plebis impositum, et D. Iunio Bruto consulibus delectum habentibus in conspectu tironum res saluberrimi exempli facta est: nam C. Matienus accusatus est apud tribunos plebis quod exercitum in Hispania deseruisset, damnatusque sub furca diu virgis caesus est, et sestertio nummo venit. tribuni plebis quia non impetrarent ut sibi denos quos vellent milites eximere liceret, consules in carcerem duci iusserunt*. The papyrus presents several new details. In the first place the condemnation of deserters (ll. 207-9) comes after the dispute with the tribunes, not before it. Besides the probable mention of Curatius, to whom Cicero (*Legg.* iii. 9) assigns the responsibility for throwing the consuls into prison, the papyrus names another tribune, Licinius, thus justifying the plural *tribuni* in Epit. From l. 205 it appears that the imprisonment was unpopular and that the tribunes had to yield. For the use of *multa* by Livy in the general sense of 'penalty' cf. 24. 16. In l. 202 *Sciptor[em]* is very doubtful. There may have been some corruption as in the case of *Decimum Brutum* in l. 203.

205-7. (ab) *omnibus luctus* seems a better correction of *omnib. lucti* than *omnibus luctui*, though whether Livy would have used *luctus* is doubtful; cf. note on l. 110. These lines refer to the death in B.C. 138 of a popular tribune who 'having done much for the good of the people expired amid universal regret.' His name was given at the end of l. 205. It would be expected that this individual was important enough to be known to history, and, as Warde Fowler and Reid suggest, there may well be a connexion between ll. 205-7 and a passage in Pliny (*H. N.* xxi. 10) *florum quidem populus Romanus honorem Scipioni tantum habuit. Serapio cognominabatur propter similitudinem suarii cuiusdam negotiatoris. obierat in tribunatu plebei admodum gratus dignusque Africanorum familia, nec erat in bonis funeris impensa. asses ergo contulit populus ac funus elocavit quaque praeferrebatur flores e prospectu omni sparsit*. Whether by *Serapio* Pliny meant Scipio Nasica Corculum, the consul of B.C. 162 and 155, or his son, the consul of B.C. 138, in either case the statement that he died as tribune is an extraordinary error. It is very significant that the papyrus also mentions the death of a popular tribune immediately after a mention of Scipio Nasica the younger, and, as Warde Fowler remarks, if something like *Nasicae filius* or *frater* be restored at the end of l. 205 and Pliny's *Serapio* be the same person, the difficulties in the Pliny passage would be largely reduced.

207-9. *co[un]* may be the beginning of a short sentence complete in itself. If it is connected with ll. 208-9, it probably refers to the part taken by the consuls in the punishment of the deserters. On this cf. the passage from Epit. 55 quoted in ll. 202-5, note, where only one individual, C. Matienus, is mentioned. Frontinus, however (*Strateg.*



iv. 1. 20), agrees with the papyrus, *qui exercitum deseruerant damnati, virgis caesi publice venierunt*. *sestertiis singulis* is equivalent to *sestertio nummo singuli*.

210-1. It is probable that these lines refer to the famous accusation of L. Aurelius Cotta by Scipio Aemilianus. This resulted in the acquittal of the accused because the judges did not wish the influence of Scipio to appear too overwhelming, if we may believe Cicero, *Pro Murena* 58 *saepe hoc maiores natu dicere audiui hanc accusatoris eximiam dignitatem plurimum L. Cottae profuisse. noluerunt sapientissimi homines qui tum rem illam iudicabant ita quemquam cadere in iudicio ut nimis adversarii viribus abiectus videretur* (cf. *Divin. in Caec.* 21), though Appian (*Bell. Civ.* i. 22) is probably right in saying that bribery was employed. (*propter*) *magnitudinem nom[inis]* would accord very well with the *eximia dignitas* of Cicero. The objection to this interpretation is that Cicero (*Pro Mur.* and *Divin. in Caecil. locc. cit.*) says that Aemilianus had been twice consul when he brought the accusation, and the second consulship of Aemilianus was in B.C. 134 while the event recorded in the papyrus took place in B.C. 138. Against the evidence of Cicero, however, must be set the circumstance that in the earliest editions (based on the Codex Sangallensis, now lost) of the commentary of Pseudo-Asconius upon that passage in the *Divin. ad Caecil.* occurs the remark *L. Cottam P. Africanus ante secundum consulatum et censuram dicitur accusasse*. Other MSS. of Pseudo-Asconius have *post* instead of *ante*, and *post* has generally been regarded as correct, though the remark is then rather pointless since it simply repeats the statement of Cicero. But the agreement between the papyrus and one version of Pseudo-Asconius is remarkable, though it is difficult to believe that Pseudo-Asconius can be right in placing the trial before Scipio's censorship, which took place in B.C. 142. The question is further complicated by the uncertainty regarding the nature of the accusations made against Cotta and the official standing in which he had rendered himself liable to them. Was he the consul of B.C. 144 or the consul of B.C. 119 (so Jahn in his note on Cic. *Brut.* 81)? If the former, the date which the papyrus suggests for the trial, B.C. 138, is more suitable than Cicero's. If the latter, then Cicero's date is the more probable, for the younger Cotta might well have been praetor about B.C. 133-29, and his insignificance would suit the peculiar feature of the case which seems to have impressed itself upon the popular imagination.

On the whole, in spite of the evidence of Appian who connects the acquittal of Cotta with C. Gracchus' law *de iudiciis*, and the circumstance that Cicero mentions it (*Div. in Caec. l. c.*) together with the trial of Aquillius which certainly seems to have taken place after Scipio's return from Numantia, we incline to the view not only that Livy placed the trial of Cotta in B.C. 138 but that he was right in so doing. Cicero, in the *Pro Murena* passage at any rate, had a point to make which would be helped by assigning the trial to the period after Scipio's second consulship, and it is not difficult to suppose him guilty of a chronological error in a speech. Moreover, the commentary of Pseudo-Asconius seems to indicate that there were ancient doubts as to Cicero's correctness on this matter; and if Livy was right with regard to the date of the trial, L. Cotta was probably the consul of B.C. 144, who, as Valerius Maximus states (vi. 4. 2), was in that year prevented by Scipio from going to Lusitania, and against whom Scipio may well have continued to bear a grudge.

212. *Lusitani vastati*: the proceedings of D. Junius Brutus in Southern Spain are meant; cf. Epit. 55 *Iunius Brutus consul in Hispania iis qui sub Viriatho militaverant agros et oppidum dedit, quod Valentia vocatum est*, Appian, *Iber.* 71, and notes on ll. 167 and 216-7.

a *Numan[ti]n[is] clades accepta*: for the restoration cf. l. 175. The allusion is to the defeat of M. Popilius; cf. Epit., which is more detailed, and l. 167, note.

213-4. Cf. Epit. which is longer in its account of Antiochus' death but mentions it at the end of the book after the successes of Brutus, and omits the detail that Diodotus took possession of Syria. The year to which Antiochus' death is referred by the papyrus (B.C. 138) conflicts with the date (B.C. 143-2) recently proposed by Niese (*Gesch. d. gr. u. mak. St.* iii. p. 283), chiefly on the evidence of coins.

216-7. Cf. Epit. *D. Iunius Lusitaniam triginta urbium expugnationibus usque ad oceanum et Oceanum perdomuit; et cum fluvium Oblivionem transire nollent milites ereptum signifero signum ipse transtulit, et sic ut transgrederentur persuasit.* The account of Book 55 in the papyrus probably ended here.

218-25. This fragment which was gummed on to Col. iv probably, if *Sullanis* is correct, belonged to a much later book.

226-32. This fragment was gummed on to Col. v.

### 669. METROLOGICAL WORK.

17.5 × 15.3 cm.

On the recto of this papyrus are parts of two columns of an account of corn, mentioning the second = first and third = second years, i.e. of Diocletian and Maximian (A.D. 285-6 and 286-7). On the verso, written in a cursive hand not more than a few years later than the writing on the recto, are parts of two columns of a series of metrological tables concerning measures of length and area. As in the contemporary metrological fragment from Oxyrhynchus (9 verso) the spelling is bad, and from the unsystematic way in which the details are arranged they seem to be private memoranda compiled from a larger treatise. Lines 1-4 deal with the *σχοινίον*, the measure of length usually employed in land-surveys, of which the square was the *aroura*. In ll. 5-8 we have a general description of cubits arranged according to the three dimensions of space; ll. 9-10 treat of the *οικοπεδικὸς πῆχυς*, a peculiar kind of cubit which differed from the three previously mentioned, and ll. 11-24 of the measurements and uses of the *ξύλον*. Col. ii begins with a list of measures of length in which Graeco-Egyptian and Roman names are, as would be expected at this period, mixed (ll. 26-30). There follows (ll. 30-42) a table of the sizes of these from the *δάκτυλος* or *παλαιστής* to the *ἄκαινα* or perhaps *ἄμμα*. Then begins another section describing the *δάκτυλος*, in the middle of which the papyrus breaks off. In both columns the lines are incomplete, and it is impossible in some cases to fill up the lacunae; but the papyrus usefully supplements the existing evidence concerning the *σχοινίον* and *οικοπεδικὸς πῆχυς*, and provides some interesting new information about the names and length of different kinds of *πήχεις* used in Egypt. The section dealing with the *ξύλον*, most of which can be restored with

certainty, not only shows that there were two kinds of ξύλα which stood to each other in the ratio of 9 : 8, but provides an important indication of the size of that much discussed measure, the ναύβιον, which was probably a cubic ξύλον; cf. note on ll. 11-20.

It is to be hoped that the whole subject of Graeco-Egyptian metrology will soon be rehandled by a new writer. The *Metrologie* of Hultsch is now antiquated, and the recent articles of the veteran metrologist in the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* and *Abhand. d. kön. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1903: *Die Ptolemäischen Münz- und Rechnungswerte*, show an inability to appreciate the new evidence of papyri.

## Col. i.

- [ἔχει τὸ σχοινίον] τὸ γεωμετρικὸν ὥγδοα η,  
 [τὸ δὲ ὄγδοον ἔχει] πῆχινς ιβ, ὥστε ἔχειν τὸ  
 [σχοινίον τὸ γεω]μετρ[ικ]ὸν πηχῶν ς.  
 [τὸ δὲ . . . . .]κόν ἐστιν πηχῶν ρ.  
 5 [ὁ εὐθυμετρι]κὸς πῆχίς ἐστιν ὁ κατὰ  
 [μῆκος μόνον] μετρούμενος, ἐμβαδικὸς  
 [δὲ ὁ κατὰ μῆκος] καὶ πλάτος, στερεὸς δὲ ὁ κα-  
 [τὰ μῆκος καὶ πλ]άτος καὶ βάθος ἦται ὕψος.  
 [ὁ . . . . .] . ς (ο)ἰκοπεδικὸς πῆχινς ἔ-  
 10 [χει ἐμβαδικὸς πῆ]χινς ρ.  
 [τῷ δὲ ξύλῳ καταμ]ετρῖ[τα]ι τὰ ναύβια· τὸ μὲν βα-  
 [σιλικόν ἐστι π]ηχῶν γ,  
 [παλαιστῶν ] ιη,  
 [δακτύλων ] οβ.  
 15 [τὸ δὲ . . . . .] ἐστὶν πηχῶν ββ',  
 [παλαιστῶν ] ις,  
 [δακτύλων ] ξδ.  
 [ὥστ' ἔχειν τὸ σχοινίον] τὸ γεωμετρικὸν  
 [ξύλα βασιλικά ] λβ,  
 20 [ξύλα . . . . . ] λς.  
 [. . . . . τετ]ραγώνου ἔχει ξύλον α,  
 [. . . . . ] α,  
 [. . . . . π]ῆχινς γ,



[. . . . . δη]μόσιον ναυ-  
25 [βι

1. 1. ὄγδοα. 3. 1. πήχεις. 5. 1. πῆχυς. 8. 1. ἦτοι. 9. ἱκοπεδικος Pap.  
1. πῆχυς. 19. λ of λβ corr. from ο.

## Col. ii.

μέτρων ἴδη ἐστὶν τ[άδε· δάκτυλος  
παλεστής λιχ{ν}ὰς σπ[ιθαμὴ πούς πυγῶν  
πῆχυς βῆμα ξύλον [ὀργυιὰ κάλαμος  
ἄκενα ἄμμα πλέθρον [ιούγερον στάδι-  
30 ον δίαυλον μίλιον. δ[. . . . .  
οἱ β παλεσταὶ λιχ{ν}ὰς, οἱ γ παλεσταὶ  
σπιθαμή, οἱ δ πούς α[. . . . ., οἱ ε  
πῆχυς λινούφικος [καὶ . . . . . ἦτοι  
πυγῶν, οἱ ς παλεσταὶ [πῆχυς δημό-  
35 σιος κὲ τεκτονικός, οἱ ζ παλεσταὶ πῆχυς  
Νιλομετρικός, οἱ η πῆχ[υς . . . . .  
οἱ ι βῆμα, βῆμα δέ ἐστι[ν ἡ διάστασις  
τῶν ποδῶν. οἱ γ πῆχ[εις ξύλον δη-  
μόσι[ο]ν, οἱ δ ὀργυιὰ, ὀ[ργυιὰ δέ ἐστίν  
40 ἡ διάστασις τῶν χιρῶν, οἱ . πήχεις  
κάλαμος, οἱ εβ' ἄκενα, οἱ [. . . . .  
οἱ εἰςὶ πήχεις. [

δάκτυλος ᾧ πάντα κατ[. . . . . τού-  
του μίξονα καὶ σύνμετρα [καὶ τὰ ἐλάσ-  
45 σονα τούτου μεσειτεύεται [. . . . .  
δ . . . [.] . λιχ[ν] . λιχ[ν] . . . . .  
. . . . .

27. 1. παλαιστής: so in ll. 31, 34. 33. λινούφικος Pap. 35. 1. καί. 37. οἱ ι  
Pap. 39. ὀργυῖα Pap. 42. πηχίς Pap.

1-20. 'The schoenium used in land-survey has 8 eighths, and the eighth has 12 cubits, so that the schoenium used in land-survey has 96 cubits, while the . . . schoenium has

100 cubits. The linear cubit is that which is measured by length alone, the plane cubit is that which is measured by length and breadth; the solid cubit is that which is measured by length and breadth and depth or height. The . . . building cubit contains 100 plane cubits. Ναύβια are measured by the ξύλον; the royal ξύλον contains 3 cubits, 18 παλαισταί, 72 δάκτυλοι, while the . . . ξύλον contains  $2\frac{2}{3}$  cubits, 16 παλαισταί and 64 δάκτυλοι; so that the schoenium used in land-survey contains 32 royal ξύλα and 36 . . . ξύλα.

31-41. '2 παλαισταί make a λιχάς, 3 παλαισταί a σπιθαμή, 4 παλαισταί an (Egyptian?) foot, 5 a cloth-weaver's cubit . . . , 6 παλαισταί a public and a carpenter's cubit, 7 παλαισταί a Nilometric cubit, 8 παλαισταί a . . . cubit, 10 παλαισταί a βήμα, which is the distance of the outstretched feet. 3 cubits make a public ξύλον, 4 cubits an ὄργυιά, which is the distance of the outstretched hands. . . cubits make a κάλαμος,  $6\frac{2}{3}$  an ἄκαινα.'

1-4. On this σχοινίον, which was unknown when Hultsch wrote his *Metrologie*, see Kenyon, P. Brit. Mus. II. p. 130, and P. Tebt. I. p. 386. The details of the papyrus exactly fit the previous evidence, which was that the σχοινίον corresponded to the ancient Egyptian measure *khet* or *khet n nuh* of 100 royal cubits, but nevertheless was divided into the series  $\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $\frac{1}{8}$ ,  $\frac{1}{16}$ ,  $\frac{1}{32}$  and so on like the aroura. The papyrus now shows that in surveying land the σχοινίον was sometimes treated as having 96 cubits, probably for the sake of convenient fractions, but that there was also a σχοινίον of 100 cubits. The name of the latter in l. 4 may be οἰκοπεδικόν. The ratio of these two σχοινία of 96 and 100 cubits corresponds, as Mr. Smyly remarks, to the ratio of 24 : 25 between two kinds of cubits in Roman times; cf. note on ll. 34-5.

9-10. The οἰκοπεδικὸς πῆχυς was supposed by A. Peyron (P. Taur. I. pp. 133-6) to be a parallelogram measuring 100 cubits by 1 cubit. His explanation, which has been accepted by all editors, is now confirmed by the papyrus, which states that an οἰκοπεδικὸς πῆχυς contained 100 square cubits. The adjective lost in the lacuna is very likely περιστ( ) which is found in P. Brit. Mus. 119 and Wilcken, *Ost.* II. 1301 before πῆχεις as a measure of area. But how the abbreviation is to be resolved is uncertain. Wilcken (*Ost.* I. p. 780) suggests περισταλτικός : περιστατικός seems to us more likely.

11-20. The restoration of this important passage, though at first sight it may seem rather hazardous, is really practically certain. It is clear from τὸ μέν in l. 11 that the figures in ll. 12-4 are contrasted with those in ll. 15-7, and since those in ll. 12 and 15 refer to πῆχεις, those in ll. 13 and 16 must refer to παλαισταί, of which there were 6 in an ordinary πῆχυς (cf. ll. 34-5), and those in ll. 14 and 17 to δάκτυλοι of which 4 make a παλαιστής. This being granted, the figures in ll. 12-7 refer to a measure of length, and the substantive to be supplied with τὸ μέν cannot be ναύβιον, which is known to be a measure of cubic capacity. There is only one measure of length known to have contained 3 πῆχεις, and that is the ξύλον (l. 38), and though no ξύλον of  $2\frac{2}{3}$  πῆχεις was known previously, the fact that in ll. 38-9 the ξύλον of 3 πῆχεις is called δημόσιον indicates that, as would be expected, more than one kind was in use. If then τὸ μέν in l. 11 means a particular kind of ξύλον, some such restoration as [τῷ δὲ ξύλῳ κατα]μετρί[τα] becomes necessary, and the correctness of this hypothesis is confirmed by ll. 18-20. The figure in l. 20 stands to that in l. 19 in the same proportion (9 : 8) as those in ll. 12-4 to those in ll. 15-7. τὸ γεωμετρικόν (l. 18) has already (l. 1) been applied to the σχοινίον, and l. 19 with the restoration suggested will be the corollary of l. 3. The only difficulty that arises is that the ξύλον of 3 πῆχεις is in l. 11 called βα[σιλικόν] while in l. 38 it is said to be δημόσιον; but in view of the extent to which δημόσιος in Roman

times supplanted the Ptolemaic term βασιλικός (e. g. in connexion with τράπεζα and γεωργός; cf. 500. 13, note), this objection is not serious. The chief interest of this section about the ξύλον lies in the light which it throws upon the size of the ναύβιον (l. 11). On that obscure cubic measure used in digging operations see P. Tebt. 5. 15, note, and P. Petrie III. From the fact that the ξύλον was the particular measure used for calculating ναύβια, it is difficult to avoid the inference that a ναύβιον was a ξύλον in length, and since there is every reason to think that its dimensions were equal, most probably a ναύβιον was a cubic ξύλον, and as there were two sizes of ξύλα so there were also two kinds of ναύβια.

21-5. The subject of these lines is obscure; but from the occurrence of τετράγωνον in l. 21 it appears that some area was under discussion. It is not unlikely that τὸ μὲν μῆκος is to be supplied at the beginning of l. 21 and [τὸ δὲ πλάτος ξύλον] in l. 22, and that the four-sided figure in question was the square face of a ναύβιον or cube measuring 3 πήχεις each way. ναύβια are probably still under discussion in l. 24.

26-30. For this list of measures of length cf. the *Tabulae Heroniana*, especially I (Hultsch, *Script. Metrol.* i. pp. 182 sqq.).

29. ἄκενα: both forms ἄκενα and ἄκαινα are commonly found, but the latter is the more correct; cf. Hultsch, *op. cit.* p. 29.

30. It is probable that the list ended with μίλιον like those in *Tabulae Heroniana* III and VII. The only larger measures of length were the σχοίνος and παρασάγγης. δ[ may be the beginning of δάκτυλοι, since the following details proceed in an ascending scale, and ought to have begun with the smallest measure. But we should expect οἱ δ δάκτυλοι παλαιστής, which is much too long, and the δάκτυλος has a section devoted to it in ll. 43 sqq.

31. The size ascribed in the papyrus to the λιχάς, σπιθαμή (l. 32), πυγών (l. 34), βῆμα (l. 37), ὀργυιά (l. 39), and ἄκαινα (l. 41), agree with the statements of the *Tabulae Heroniana* and add no new facts.

32. The names given by the ancient metrologists to the ordinary foot of 4 παλαισταί to distinguish it from the Ῥωμαϊκός or Ἰταλικός πούς of  $3\frac{1}{3}$  παλαισταί are βασιλικός, Πτολεμαϊκός, and Φιλεταιρικός; but none of these will suit. Α[ιγύπτιος is not unlikely; the first letter is certainly α or λ, δ or μ being excluded.

33. καί might be supplied in l. 32 instead of οἱ ε, which would then follow λινοῦφικός; but no cubit smaller than the normal one of 6 παλαισταί was known previously, and it is therefore much more probable that the 'cloth-weaver's cubit' contained 5 παλαισταί than 4.

34-5. This cubit of 6 παλαισταί is the common πήχυς, found in the *Tabulae Heroniana*, but is there also called λιθικός and ξυλοπριστικός. Α πήχυς τέλειος ξυλικός τεκτονικός occurs in P. Brit. Mus. 154. 7; for δημόσιος cf. l. 38 ξύλον δη[μόσι]ον and ll. 11-20, note. There was another cubit introduced into Egypt in Roman times which stood to the cubit of 6 παλαισταί in the ratio of 25:24 (Hultsch, *ap. Wilcken, Ost.* I. p. 753), but this does not seem to be mentioned here by the papyrus, though it is perhaps, as Mr. Smyly suggests, implied by the number, 96, of cubits in a σχοινίον in l. 3.

35-6. The title Νιλομετρικός πήχυς is new, but that the cubit used in measuring the rise and fall of the Nile contained 7 παλαισταί instead of 6 was known from the inscriptions on the subject at Elephantine; cf. C. I. G. 4863. This cubit of 7 παλαισταί is that normally used in official measurements upon ancient Egyptian monuments, and Mr. Smyly thinks that it was also employed in measuring the mysterious ἀώλια which occur in the Petrie papyri. Its usual title (not found here) was the 'royal' cubit (Hultsch, *Intro. to Script. Metrol.* p. 25, &c., is wrong on this point).



36. This cubit of 8 παλαισταί or 2 feet is frequently mentioned in the *Tabulae Heronianaë*, but without any special designation. Since it was apparently introduced into Egypt by the Romans (Hultsch, *Script. Metrol.* p. 42, *Metrol.* p. 618), 'Ρωμαϊκός or 'Ιταλικός is very likely to be supplied in the lacuna.

37. The βῆμα of 10 παλαισταί is the ordinary one, but βήματα of 8 and 12 παλαισταί also occur; cf. Hultsch, *Script. Metrol.* pp. 194. 3 and 197. 23.

38-9. No ξύλον except that of 3 cubits was known previously; on the δημόσιον and the other ξύλον with which it was contrasted see ll. 11-20, note.

40. The κάλαμος, which was according to *Tabulae Heronianaë* I an ancient Egyptian land-measure, is stated in the same table (Hultsch, *Script. Metrol.* p. 183. 3) to contain  $6\frac{2}{3}$  cubits or 10 feet of 4 παλαισταί. This is also the size assigned in the *Tabulae Heronianaë* to the ἄκαινα or ἄκενα; cf. l. 41. Hence Hultsch supposed that κάλαμος and ἄκαινα were convertible terms. But from the position occupied by the κάλαμος here between the ὀργυιά of 4 πήχεις and the ἄκαινα of  $6\frac{2}{3}$ , its size should be not  $6\frac{2}{3}$  but something between 4 and  $6\frac{2}{3}$  cubits. A μέτρον τοῦ καλάμου which differs apparently from the ordinary κάλαμος occurs in a passage quoted by Hultsch, *op. cit.* p. 153, but the language seems to be corrupt, and if Hultsch is right in inferring from it a κάλαμος of  $1\frac{1}{3}$  cubits in length, that cannot be the κάλαμος meant here. There is more reason to connect the κάλαμος of the papyrus with the κάλαμος of  $27\frac{3}{4}$  παλαισταί mentioned by Pediasmus, a Byzantine writer of the fourteenth century (Hultsch, *op. cit.* i. p. 58 and ii. p. 147). This κάλαμος would contain  $4\frac{5}{8}$  cubits of 6 παλαισταί, and  $4\frac{5}{8}$  would satisfy the conditions which, as we have said, the number found in l. 40 would be expected to fulfil. Assuming that this is correct, the κάλαμος of  $4\frac{5}{8}$  cubits is much older than has been supposed; but there is no particular objection to this, for the information provided by ancient metrologists is extremely defective.

41-2. After the ἄκαινα, which has the customary  $6\frac{2}{3}$  cubits, came no doubt a higher unit of measurement, very likely the ἄμμα (40 cubits), which follows the ἄκαινα in l. 29. οἱ εἰσι πήχεις may be corrupt for οἱ (a figure) πήχεις, followed by another unit of measurement omitted. But it is more likely to be something like τοῖ||οἱ εἰσι πήχεις (cf. 654. 1), 'so much for cubits.'

43-5. The meaning is that the δάκτυλος being the smallest measure of length with a name, all other measures of length are referred to it as the unit; cf. *Tabulae Heronianaë* I and II ἐλάχιστον δὲ τούτων ἐστὶ δάκτυλος καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐλάττονα μόρια καλεῖται, and III δάκτυλος πρῶτός ἐστιν ὥσπερ καὶ μονάς. Line 43 is probably to be restored κατ[αμετρεῖται τὰ τοῦ]του, with [καὶ φ in l. 44; cf. l. 11.

## 670-678. POETICAL FRAGMENTS.

These nine miscellaneous pieces in verse do not appear to be extant, but are too fragmentary to call for detailed treatment.

670 is a strip from a short column of hexameters, written in a small sloping uncial hand of the third century. The metre proves that the part preserved is near the beginnings of the lines, but the remains are too scanty to show the subject or the quality of the poem. There is a mention of Dionysus in l. 22,

and apparently a reference to Hephaestus in l. 11. Some corrections have been made by a second hand, which also inserted the diaeresis in l. 26.

671 is from a series of epideictic epigrams, as is made clear by the heading in l. 1 *τίνας ἀν ἐποί [λόγους . . .*, a formula frequent in the Anthology (cf. e.g. *Anth. Pal.* ix. 126, 449, &c.). Opposite l. 3, where the epigram commences, is the abbreviation *νι*( )—or *ιν*( )—which may give the name of the poet, e.g. Nicarchus, or of the speaker. The handwriting is an irregular uncial, dating probably from the latter half of the third century.

672. A small fragment from the bottom of a column, containing the latter parts of nine lines, written in a rather irregular uncial hand of, probably, the first century. Lines 4–8 may be hexameters, but the metre of l. 9 seems to be different. There is no clue to the subject.

673 contains parts of eleven lines from the top of a column, written in well-formed sloping uncials of the common oval type, and dating most probably from the third century. In the margin at the top are the beginnings of three blurred lines of cursive, apparently mere scribblings; the writer was perhaps the person responsible for some corrections and accents in the text below. This seems to be of a lyrical character, though the majority of the verses might also be hexameters.

674, written in careful round uncials of about the latter part of the first or the beginning of the second century, is a fragment of a lyric poem, which may be by Pindar. The form *ιαρός* (l. 6) is indeed not found in the traditional Pindaric dialect, but it has a parallel in *σκιαρός* (*Ol.* iii. 14, 18). The high stops and the accents which have been occasionally added may be by the original scribe, but there is a question of a second hand in ll. 1 and 7; cf. note *ad loc.*

675. The upper parts of two columns of a lyrical poem written in rather short lines, and evidently to be classed as a paeon (cf. ll. 1 and 12). The mention of Alexandria in l. 4 is an indication of a comparatively late date, but Blass thinks that the piece may be by Callimachus, who is known to have composed *μέλη* of this description. The paragraphus below l. 2 may mark the commencement of a fresh strophe, but no metrical correspondence can be followed out between the two columns. The MS. is in a large uncial hand of an early type, and seems to date from about the middle of the first century.

676. This small fragment contains the ends and beginnings of lines from two columns of a tragedy, written in a sloping uncial hand of the third century. High stops occur at ll. 2, 6 and 7, and a middle stop apparently at l. 3. The correction in l. 9 and the rough breathing in l. 14 are no doubt original, and the accents may be so; but the addition of the iota adscript in l. 15 seems to be subsequent.

677 and 678 are fragments of comedies. 677, containing the latter parts of nine lines from the bottom of a column, is written in neat round uncials which may be assigned to the latter part of the first century. 678, from the top of a column, is in an upright and rather heavy calligraphic hand similar to 661, and probably, like that papyrus, of the latter part of the second century. The accents seem to have been added later.

670.

15.6 × 3.7 cm.

	]λεις τι δ αν αλλο π . [		]υμη[. . . ]ων σε τεος . [
	]ν δε και αυτος απ[	15	]ο και [. . . ]εουσα φιλο[
	] . [ . . ] αυτοματος λιπεν [		]σι χωομε[ν . . ] . και μ . [
	]ως [ . . ] καζουσιν αιει γε[		]ν αρ εισωμεσθα σιδηρ[
5	]λε Ταρταριησιν αλυκτ[οπεδησι ?		] γαρ παραιασι τεοις . [
	]ε φιλη λουσειεν επιζω[		] ημετεροι π . . υτοφ[
	παν]τοθεν [αμ]φιβεβηκε τ[	20	]ν εγ'χος . . εσχε τα[
	ως α]ρ εφη [ . . . ]νης μεμν[		]ην ιδε . [ . . ] και παλ[
	]ν αστυ[φελι]κτον εως[		] και Διογυσος ε . [
10	]γαδελ[ . . . ] τεκες υι[		]εμοι μη δηριν εγει[ρ
	τεχ]νηις [και] χωλος εων . [		]ν υφ ημετεροις πε[
	]ς προ[σθε π]οδων αγαθ[	25	]ασθαι γλυκερων επ[
	]μενω[ . . . ]τεισκοτε . [		]εως παις ουτος εμο[

6. υ of λουσ is corrected apparently by the second hand from ι.

18. The mistake corrected was the common one of writing αι for ε; the same thing has happened in l. 25.

671.

Fr. (a) 9.6 × 7.3, Fr. (b) 15.5 × 8.1 cm.

	τινας αν ειποι [λογους	προς	[ . . . . . ] . ς και νυν ε[
	τον υ[ι]ον του Δε[		[ . . . . . ]μην[
14	ατρεκες αιγληεσσα[		[ . . . . . ] . βασιλ[
	κ[ . . . . ]γει βασιλευς [		. . . . .
5	α[ . . . . ]ασδυσιασπ[	15	[σκη]πτρον εχει . [
	[ . . . . . ] . ικλειτην [		χρυσειον αθρησαν[
	[ . . . . . ]νη εξησι[		αλλ[α] κλυοις εμος οσ[



. [ . . . . ]	ττην οτι τ . [	και κουρ[ο]ις . [
[ . . . . . ]	ι . τον περε[	ουπω πορφυρεης π[
10 [ . ]	υ . [ . ] θεσπεσιον ε . [	20 ουπω σκηπτρ[
[ . . . . . ]	ενησετεκ[	δηθυνεις βασιλευ κ[
		ιμειρω σεο παιδα μα[

1-2. A name, possibly Νι( ) (cf. introd.), is to be supplied after λογους. Δο[ may be read in place of Δε[ in l. 2. This may be the top of the column.

14. There is a break in the papyrus at this point, and four or five lines at least are lost.

672. 8 × 5.5 cm.

. . . . .  
 ]νον δο[  
 ]φαι λη[  
 ]αμη[  
 ]ισιν ετιμησαν [   
 5 ]ι Νηρηιδες  
 ]που εδιδαχθη  
 ]σεις ταφον αντιασε[  
 ]ν· θηρ οσον εξεδιδαξε[  
 ]ων· διχα εις πολυποικιλ[

673. 10 × 4.7 cm.

]ιδων θερα[  
 ]μοπατρασ[  
 ]μενα γλυκ[  
 ] . ιπποβοτο[  
 5 ]νομοις ολυ . [   
 ]ντος υποπ[  
 ]ρ αιωνων ε[  
 π]οντιαδεσσι[  
 π]λοκαμοις θειαις [   
 10 ]εν[[δ]]αγιοκουρ[  
 ]φνετοξ[  
 . . . . .

672. 9. The high point is really over the ν and is possibly to be connected with the point between ν and θ in the line before. The double point usually indicates a change of speaker, but is also found as a mark of punctuation, e. g. in 657.

673. 1-2. Perhaps Πιερ]ιδων θερα[πων and οβρι]μοπατρα, as Blass suggests.

4. The letter before ιπποβοτο[ has been corrected.

5. The mutilated letter before the lacuna might be e. g. μ or ν; ? Ολυμ[πον.

9. π]λοκαμοις is no doubt part of a compound adjective like εὐπλόκαμος or καλλιπλόκαμος.

10. The doubtful ν has been converted from ιο by a second hand, which also crossed out the δ.

674.

5.1 × 5.2 cm.

. . . . .  
 ]πτᾱλι[  
 ]ωνευω[. . .] . . . [  
 ]λοινον· εμμεν[  
 ]ένοι Δελφοι ναδ[  
 5 ]ε Παρνασσου θέμε[θλα  
 ]οις τερφθεν ιαροις [  
 ]άματ αγλαοις· ιδιοις [  
 . . . . .  
 ]ιναπολλῶ[. .] . . . [  
 ]ας· τοι δ αυτ[  
 10 ]ορφ[. . .]κ[  
 ]τον[  
 . . . . .

1. The letters of this first line are smaller than those in the lines below and differently formed, and they might be by another hand; but there is no trace of an erasure, nor can the words be an interlinear addition.

4. ιε or ισ might be read in place of α between ν and δ.

5. θέμε[θλα: cf. Pindar, *Pyth.* iv. 180 Παγγαίου θεμέθλοισ. Perhaps τρέμε δ]έ κ.τ.λ., as Blass suggests.

7. The letters of ιδιοις are smaller than usual and have a slight slope, while elsewhere the hand is upright; they seem to have been written by the original scribe, but may be a marginal note or gloss.

8. Something like an ο enclosed between two dots (cf. e.g. 16. ii. 4) has been written above the letter after πολλ, which is probably ω. The words may be divided ]ινα πολλ . . . or ]ιν Απολλ . . .

675.

11.8 × 14.5 cm.

Col. i.

παιανι φιλοστεφα[νω]  
 μελπ[ον]τες ῶ[. . . . .]  
 ιεραν κ[α]τεχων [. . . . .]  
 Αλεξαν[δρ]ειαν . [. . . . .]  
 5 πολιν [. . .] και βα[. . . . .]

Col. ii.

κε[. . .] μελψο[. . . . .]  
 κελαδου παιαν[. . . . .]  
 μελεσι στεψα[. . . . .]  
 ευιερων πελα[νων . . . . .]  
 15 θυμα δεδωκατ[ε . . . . .]





677.

8.6 × 3.9 cm.

. . . . .  
 ] . σε . [ . . . . . ] τὰδ[ε  
 ]τρεχειν εκ γειτ[ον  
 ]τι λυπησας τυχω[  
 ]τα πειθαρχουντα [  
 5 ] τροπον προσιο[ντ  
 ] τινι λαλεις [  
 ]ιαν Νουμηνιε [  
 ]ερος· εινεγμαι μ[  
 μα τ]ους δωδεκα θε[ους

678.

11 × 4 cm.

] εαν κελευη[  
 ] ουκ εστιν· [  
 ] τριωβολο[  
 ] σου : κακον [  


---

 5 ] ὦ προστατ[  
 ] αραν δυνα[  
 γ]λίσχρο[  
 ]τη[  
 ]το[  
 10 ]ι[

677. 6. There is a blank space in the papyrus on either side of *τινι λαλεις*. Probably two feet are to be supplied at the end of the line.

8. *εινεγμαι* is apparently for *ἐνέγμαι* or *ἡνιγμαι*. The doubtful *γ* might be *ι*, but that gives no word.

9. Cf. 409. 86, &c.

678. 1-7. It appears on the whole probable that the fragment preserves the beginnings of the lines and that there is no loss on the left side till l. 7, which must have projected somewhat, owing to the column having, as often happens, a slight slope. But this is not at all certain, and what we have taken to be a paragraphus between ll. 4-5 may be a rough breathing over *ω*.

8. The syllable preceding *τη* had an acute accent.

### 679-684. PROSE FRAGMENTS.

The following group of unidentified prose fragments corresponds to the foregoing collection of minor poetical pieces. The first, 679, is historical, and consists of the upper parts of two columns, both unfortunately fragmentary, written in neat upright uncials of the first century B.C. Military operations are being described, and there is a mention in ll. 2-4 of some one dispatched by an Alexander in Cilicia, and of a king or kingdom in l. 42. Perhaps, then, this is a fragment from a history of the campaigns of Alexander the Great, and it may even belong to the lost work on that subject by the first Ptolemy.

680 seems also to come from some historical work, but its sense is not easy to follow. Parts of 15 lines from the top of a column are preserved, containing mentions of Cilicians, Attica and the Athenians, and Soli in Cyprus. The hand is a sloping uncial of the middle or latter part of the third century. A low stop apparently occurs in l. 3.

681 is a piece from the top of a column containing the latter parts of 15 lines from a geographical or historical treatise. A description of some Thracian tribes, among which are the Triballi and Paeonians, is given, but the passage is too mutilated for satisfactory restoration. The fragment is written in rather irregular, but not ill-formed, uncials, which may date from the second century; a high stop is used.

682. Two fragments, both probably from the same column, of which one of them forms the top. The graceful upright hand seems, like that of 699, to be a rather early example of the oval type, and it may go back to the latter part of the second or the beginning of the third century. The common angular sign is used for filling up a short line (l. 12). The pieces are part of an oration, perhaps a lost speech of Hyperides.

683 contains the ends of lines of part of a column, with some traces of the column following, τ[ and τ[, opposite ll. 16 and 19, being all that is legible. The fragment is not easy to classify; citations of previous writers are made in ll. 4 and 12-3, and a Dionysius is mentioned in l. 9. The piece is written in rather small round uncials, which may be assigned to the latter half of the second century. An angular sign is used at the end of short lines. On the verso are parts of two lines in cursive of about the time of Septimius Severus.

684, containing 23 nearly complete lines from the bottom of a column, is much more intelligible. The fragment comes from some ethical treatise, the comparatively late date of which is indicated by the occurrence of the form *προσελεύσομαι* (ll. 6 and 22) as well as by the subject, the characteristics of sovereigns and advice for intercourse with them. The piece is written on the verso of the papyrus—the recto being blank—in sloping oval uncials, probably of the middle or latter half of the third century.

679.

12.5 x 6.1 cm.

Col. i.

.....]ων *Ελληνικων*  
 .....]ν τον *εγ Κιλικι*  
*αι απεστ*]αλμενον υπ *Αλε*

Col. ii.

τε . [  
 ———  
 α[  
 . ν[

ξανδρου υσ]τερον . [.] . . αν	25 [
5 . . . . .] . του παραδοθηναι	[
. . . . .]ην επιμελειαν	[
. . . . .] . ας αλλα τω μη ελ	[
. . . . .] την ησυχιαν ε . [.	[
. . . . λα]μβανοντες μη εισ	30 [
10 . . . . .]τους τωγ καθεστω	λα[
των . . . . .]ν δε διαμερισθω	[
σιν . . . . .]ου στρατοπε	τε[
δο . . . . .] . των μερι	γ[
15 letters ]νται	35 ου
15 . . . . .]τινα δεσιν	π[
. . . . .] δοξαντων	σ .
. . . . .]αν αποστει	α . . [.]α
λ . . . . .] υπηρετας ε[ι]ς	ωνιη[
. . . . .]ην των προ	40 διο[
20 . . . . .]ππεων α[.]εκα	εις ην κ[
10 letters ]πεμο . [ . . . ]	βασιλεια[
. . . . .	δεικνυ[
	το[.]ανδ[
	45 ο . [
	. . . . .

38-45. These lines are written smaller and closer together than the rest.

680.

6.5 × 4 cm.

[. . . .]ων Κιλικων [	δε εις Σολους του[
[. .]ληστο οι δε ολ[	10 νες τους εν Κυπ[ρω
[. .]α. μεγα τι . . [	[.]αι τους δε εξο[
[ε]ξελθειν φ[	[.]ω υποστρεψαι [
5 Αττικής μετ[	[.] . ας επιτετριμ[
τους Αθηναι[ο]υς [	[.]εκτον υπο των [
π αυτου τεθεισιν [	15 [. . . . .]λω απ[
τους αναστρεψη[	

K





683.

9.3 × 4.4 cm.

	]τα κυρ[ι]ον	]αις εν τη
	]αβασης αυ	τω]ν ιστοριων
	ο]νομαστον	]πο δε τους
	]ε φησι τας	15 ]ακατον λα
5 ]	πολειταιαις	]ντα πρεσβευ
	]τασαν εις τα	]σεν ο κοι
	]μονιω διαπρα	]α κερνα δι
	]ασιν οι τα πε	]ντων κομι
	]τες Διονυσι	20 ]εινων εισ
10 ]	πλε . ησαν	πα]ραλαβειν
	]της . [. . . κε	]εν

15. ακατον may be a complete word; cf. l. 18 κερνα.

684.

12 × 6.5 cm.

...	]τιδοσεις ο . ν[.]ιδα[.....	μα]λα εικοτ[ω]ς ακμαι μεν γαρ εισ[ι]...
...	]ν εργαων ενος εισιν .[.....	... ]αυματων θαλασσιων ...[.....
...	]σων βουλονται πραγματ[.....	15 . . . ] του και πυροσ [ο]υδεν δε ουτω [. . .
...	]νειν εχει δε τινα και αυ[....	. ε]ι και κυμαινει και αναξε[ι] ως
5 .	ε]νεργεστερα[ν] η τροπο . . [τι δε	θυ]μος βασ[ι]λεω[ς] ατε γαρ μεγας ω[ν] και
	χρη] μαλ[λ]ον παιδευειν του[ς] προ[σε]λευ	αυ]τοκρατωρ κ[α]ι παλη τη εξου[σια]
	σο]μενους βασιλει η του αξιωμ[ατος	χρ]ωμενος οξυς εστιν και ακατα[σχε
	τα] δ[ια]φορα τι μεν ταρασσει [. . . .	20 τοσ] και προς τε τας τειμας προχ[ειρος
	. . . ] βουσινου τι δ[ε] ευνηται [τι δε	προ]ς τε τας κολασεισ ακωλυτος [χρη
10 . .	]τη οψει υπ[.] . ον τι δε τη α[. . . .	ουν] τον προσελευσομενον τω το[ιω
	εσ]τιν ετερον το[ι]ουτους ατ[. . . .	δε κ]αι τηλικωδε χρ]ησθαι μεν [
	δει] γιγενεσ[θ]αι προς τους βασιλεα[ς] και	

5. ε]νεργεστερα[ν]: the final ν scarcely fills the available space, and another letter may be lost.

6. The second λ of μαλ[λ]ον if written would be very cramped and may have been omitted.

9. The traces of the supposed ο after ] . β are rather closer than they should be

both to the  $\beta$  and to the following  $\nu$  and perhaps do not represent a letter, and on the other hand a narrow letter may be lost between the doubtful  $\sigma$  and  $\iota$ .  $\beta\upsilon\sigma[\sigma]\iota\nu\omicron\nu \dots \epsilon\nu\eta\gamma\tau\omicron\nu$  might be read, but would make no sense here. Perhaps there is some corruption.

14.  $\kappa\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\omega\nu$  would be expected and should no doubt be restored (cf. l. 16  $\kappa\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota\nu\epsilon\iota$ ); perhaps  $\kappa\alpha\nu\mu\alpha\tau\omega\nu$  was written by mistake.

18.  $\pi\alpha\lambda\eta$ : l.  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\iota$  or  $\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\eta$ ? There is room for a letter between  $\pi$  and  $\alpha$ , but the  $\alpha$  seems clear.

23. The final  $\nu$  of  $\mu\epsilon\nu$  is rather spread out and was possibly the last letter of the line.

### III. FRAGMENTS OF EXTANT CLASSICAL AUTHORS

#### 685. HOMER, *Iliad* XVII.

12.5 × 10.5 cm.

This fragment, containing the ends of ll. 725–32 of the *Iliad*, from the top of a column, is of interest owing to the presence of some marginal scholia, one of which, that on l. 728 mentioning a reading of the  $\text{K}\omega\nu\eta$ , is with little doubt by the original scribe, while those below were added subsequently in cursive. The MS. was a fine specimen of Greek calligraphy, being written with great care in a large, round uncial hand, very similar to that of 661 (Plate v). It is probably to be assigned, like 661, to the latter half of the second century, a date to which the cursive adscripts opposite ll. 730–1 also point. High and middle stops (ll. 728–9) occur, and accents and breathings are used in the first scholium. There is a broad margin at the top of the column.

725  $\epsilon]\pi\iota \kappa\alpha\pi\rho\omega\iota$

$\theta\eta]\rho\eta\tau\eta\rho\omega\nu$

$\mu]\epsilon\mu\alpha\omega\tau\epsilon\varsigma$

$\pi\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\theta]\omega\varsigma$

]  $\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$

$\eta \kappa \alpha\lambda\lambda^{\circ} \acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon \delta\acute{\eta} \rho^{\circ}$



730                  ἐπο]υτο  
αμφι]γνοισιν·              ἔξ αμ[φοτερων  
                 αυ]τους            μερων [.....  
  
                                     ]λοιει αντι [

728. The marginal note evidently refers to the Aristarchean method of writing *ὅτε δῆ*, namely *ὄτεδῆ*, and implies that the word had the Aristarchean accent in the text. Cf. Schol. A on A 493 Ἀρίσταρχος ὄτεδῆ ὡς δηλαδὴ παραλόγως ἀνεγίνωσκε, and the discussion of the question in the scholia of Ammonius, 221. i. 1-8, where the ordinary accentuation is upheld. For the reference to the Κοινή cf. 445.

731. The scholium appears to be an explanation of the word ἀμφιγύουσιν which it interprets in the sense of 'pointed at both ends'; cf. Apollonius' Lexicon, s.v. τοῖς ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους γινώσαι δυνάμενους. After μερῶν something like ἄκρον ἔχουσιν must be supplied; cf. Schol. A on N 147 οἱ δὲ μεταφορικῶς ἀπὸ τῶν γυίων, ὅτι ἑκατέρωθεν ἄκρον ἔχει. The note may have been continued in a third shorter line, and there is a faint mark below the ν of μερῶν which (if it be ink) would suit an ε.

732. The marginal note below this line, which should refer to l. 733 *σταίησαν τῶν δὲ τράπετο χρώς, οὐδὲ τις ἔτλη*, is obscure. The only word here of which an explanation seems at all likely to have been given is *τράπετο*, which in the Schol. Didymi is glossed *ἡλλάσσετο ἢ ἰδέα τοῦ προσώπου*; but the present note was phrased differently. The doubtful λ may be μ and four or five letters may be lost in front of it since l. 733 is not a long one. *Αιαντ*. [cannot be read.

686-688. HOMER, *Iliad* II, III, AND XI.

The three following Homeric fragments of which the text is printed below are reproduced in facsimile on Plate vii, and have a palaeographical value as practically contemporary specimens of the literary hand of the early Augustan period. 686 and 688, from the bottom and top of a column respectively, are very similar in type, 686 being the more regular and ornamental of the two, and both have a decided resemblance to the hand of the new Pindar fragments (659), which is perhaps slightly older. 687, which is also of some interest on account of the presence of two critical signs in the margin of Col. ii, shows a stiffer and more angular style of writing. No stops or other lection signs occur in any of the three pieces. We give a collation with Ludwich's text.

686.

7.3 × 5.1 cm.

PLATE VII.

ii. 50 [αυταρ ο κηρυ]κεσσι λι[γυφθογγοισι]

[κηρυσσειν αγ]ορην δε κα[ρηκομοωντας  
 [οι μεν εκηρυ]σσον τοι δ η[γειροντο  
 [βουλην δε πρ]ωτον μεγαθυμ[ων  
 [Νεστορεη παρ]α νηι Πυλοιγεν[εος  
 55 [τους ο γε συνκ]αλεσας πυκινη[ν  
 [κλυτε φιλοι θ]ειος μοι ενυπνι[ον  
 [αμβροσιην δι]α νυκτα μαλιστα [  
 [ειδος τε μεγ]εθος τε φυην τ αγ[χιστα

53. The papyrus probably read βουλην, as do the great majority of the MSS.; but the lacuna is too large to give a real clue. βουλή Ludwich, with Aristoph. and Aristarch.

54. Πυλοιγεν[εος: so Lud. with AB, &c.; Πυληγ. SM, &c.

56. θ[ειος: so MSS. and Aristarch.; θείον Zenod.

687.

7.9 × 4.5 cm.

PLATE VII.

Col. i.

Col. ii.

iii. 185

αιολοπ[ωλους

]

Σαγγαρι]οιο

ε]λεχθην

αντιανει]ραι

. . . . .

&gt; του[ς δ εγω

αμφ[οτερων

αλλ ο[τε

σταν[των

210

&gt; αμφ[ω

αλλ ο[τε

ητ[οι

παυρ[α

ουδ α[φαρμαρτοεπης

215

αλλ οτ[ε

. . . . .

207. There is a dipole against this line in Ven. A with the note *ὅτι παραλλήλως ἐξείνισα καὶ ἐφίλησα· τὸ γὰρ φιλεῖν ἐνίοτε ἀντὶ τοῦ ξενίζειν τίθησιν.*

211. Ven. A has a dipole periestigmene opposite this line.

688.

8.1 × 4.5 cm.

PLATE VII.

οι δ ετι καμ μεσο[ν

ας τε λεων εφο[βησε

[α]ιεν αποκτειν[ων

πολλοι δε πρη[νεις

<p>             πασας τη δε τ ιη αν[αφαινεται              xi. 175 της δ εξ αυχεν εαξ[ε              πρωτον επειτα δ[ε              ως τους Ατρειδ[ης           </p>	<p>             [Ατ]ρειδεω υπο [ 180              [αλλ] οτε δη τα[χ              [ιξε]σθαι τότε [δη              [Ιδη]ς εν [κορυφησι           </p>
--	---

179-80. These two lines were athetized by Aristarchus and omitted by Zenodotus; Ludwig prints them in small type.

689. HESIOD, *Scutum*.

Fr. (a) 9.2 x 3.6 cm.

Three fragments from the top of a column, containing the concluding fifteen lines of the *Scutum* of Hesiod. The text is written in round, rather heavy uncials of medium size, which appear to date from about the end of the second century. The occasional accents, &c., and the punctuation are probably due to the original scribe, as well as the corrections in ll. 475 and 480. In the collation we have made use of the edition of Rzach (1902); a couple of otherwise unrecorded variants occur.

[ιππους μαστιετην ικοντο δ[ε μακλ[ον Ολυμπον  
 [υιος δ Αλκμην]ης και κυ[δα]λιμος Ιολ[αος  
 [Κυκνον σκυλε]υσαν[τ]ε[ς α]π ωμων [τευ]χεα καλα  
 [νισοντ αιψα] δ επειτα π[ολι]ν Τρηχι[νος ι]κοντο  
 470 [ιπποις ωκυπο]δεσιν· ατα[ρ γ]λαυκωπ[ις] Αθηνη  
 [εξικετ Ουλυ]μπον τε μεγ[α]ν και δωμ[α]τα πατρος.  
 [Κυκνον δ αυ Κ]ηυξ θαπτεν [κ]αι λαος α[πει]ρων  
 [οι ρ εγγυς ναιο]ν πόλιας κλε[ι]του βασιλ[η]ος  
 [Ανθην Μυρμι]δοναν τε πο[λι]ν κλειτη[ν] τ Ιαωλκον  
 475 [Αρνην τ ηδ Ελ]ικην· πολλος [δ ε]πε[ι] γερ[ε]το λα[ος  
 [τιμωντες Κηυκ]α φιλον μ[α]καρε[σσι] θεοισι[ν]  
 [του δε ταφον και σ]ημ' αἶδε[ς ποιησεν Αναυ]ρος  
 [ομβρωι χειμερι]ωι πληθων [τως γαρ μιν Απ]ολλ[ων]



[*Δητοιδης ηνωξ* ο]τι ρα κλει[τας εκατομβα]ς  
 480 [ος τις αγοι Πυθοιδε] βιη σ<sup>ι</sup>υλ[ασκε δοκευων  
 . . . . .

466. μακλ[ον is for μακρον, a case of the common confusion of λ and ρ.

473. πόλιας: πόλιος Rzach with E, πόληας other MSS.; the papyrus reading will at least scan.

474-5. Rzach follows Goettling in regarding these two lines as a later addition. The papyrus shows that they belong to an ancient tradition. ε]πεγειρ[ετο in l. 475 is a new variant; ἡγείρετο, ἐγείρετο or ἡγείρατο MSS.

480. βίη σύλασκε is the ordinary reading. The scribe seems to have imagined that the verb was υλασκε; what he supposed the σ meant or why he made a mark like a sign of elision after the overwritten ι we are unable to conjecture. There is a break in the papyrus immediately below this line; the title of the book presumably followed as usual.

### 690, 691. APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, *Argonautica* III.

690 13 × 5.2 cm., 691 3.3 × 3.3 cm.

We here group together a couple of fragments from the third book of the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius, but derived from two distinct MSS. The larger fragment, 690, which is from the bottom of a column and comprises ll. 727-45, is in a third century semi-uncial hand. A variety of lection signs occur, of which the marks of elision are certainly due to the original scribe; the breathings and accents have rather the appearance of being a later addition. 691, containing parts of ll. 908-14, is earlier in date, being written in rather heavy, but not very regular, round uncials, which may be attributed to the second century. The texts are remarkable for the confirmation of two conjectures, Porson's ναυτίλοι for ναῦται appearing in l. 745, and Stephanus' correction of μετά for κατά in l. 909. Our references to the two chief codices, the Laurentianus and the Guelferbytanus, are taken from the edition of R. Merkel (1854).

690.

. . . . .  
 [Χαλκιοπη ως] υμ[μι  
 [ως ερξω μη γ]αρ μ[οι

	[ηως μηδε με] δηρ[ον	691.	
730	[ει ετι σης ψυ]χης π[ροφερεστερον		
	[σων θ]ειην [ο]ι δη μοι [		ε]ταρω[ν
	[κη]δεμονες τε φιλοι κα[ι		δασο]μεσθα μ[ετα
	[φη]μι κασιγνητην τε [	910	τ]φι δ αυτε κακ[ωτερον
	[ισον] επει κεινοις με τ[εω		α]πονοσφι π[ελεσθε
735	[νη]πυτιην· ὥς αιεν [		παση]σι δ επικλ[οπος
	[αλλ] ἴθι κευθε δ' ἔμη[ν		Αισονι]δ[η]ν [
	[λησο]μαι εντύνουσ[α		
738	[οισ]ομαι εις Εκατης θ[ελκτηρια		
740	[ως] η γ' εκ θαλαμοιο [		
	[αυ]τοκασιγνητης [		
	[αιδ]ως τε στυγερον [τε		
	[τοια] παρεξ ου πατρ[ος		
	[νυξ] μεν επειτ' επ[ι γαιαν		
745	[ναυ]τίλοι εις Ἑλίκην [		

690. 730. *ει ετι*: the papyrus probably had the ordinary reading, which would quite fill the lacuna; *ει γε τι* Merkel, *ει κε τι* Wellauer.

733. *κασιγνητην*: so L; l. *κασιγνητη* with G, Merkel.

735. *ὥς*: so L (*ὥς*): *ὥς* G, Merkel.

738. The papyrus agrees with the other MSS. in omitting the line (739) cited in the scholia of L *οἰσομένη ξείνῳ ὑπὲρ οὗ τόδε νέικος ὄρωρε*, with *εἴσομαι* for *οἴσομαι* in l. 738.

745. *[ναυ]τίλοι*: *ναῦται* MSS., *ναυτίλοι* Porson, which restores the metre and is adopted by Merkel. *ναῦται* should disappear from future editions.

691. 909. *μ[ετα*: so Stephanus, a correction which has generally been accepted in place of the MSS. reading *κατά*.

## 692. APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, *Argonautica* IV.

11.5 × 8.7 cm.

Two fragments from the bottom of a column, containing parts of ll. 77-90 of Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica*, Book iv. The handwriting, a neat upright uncial, has a certain resemblance to that of the Thucydides papyrus (16, 696), and is apparently a rather later specimen of the same type; we should assign it to the second century. Occasional accents and stops (high usually, but

a middle point apparently occurs in l. 89) are used, and may be due, like the insertion of an iota adscript in l. 90, to the original scribe.

- [ηρωες με]τα [την γε θοοις ελαασκον ερετμοις  
 [ουπω πε]ισματα νηος [επ ηπειροιο περαιης  
 [βαλλον ο] δε κραιπνους [χερσω ποδας ηκεν Ιησων  
 80 [υ]ψου επ ικριόφιν· μετα [δε Φροντις τε και Αργος  
 [υι]ε δυω Φριξ[ου] χαμαδ[ις] θορον η δ αρα τουσγε  
 [γου]ναν [αμφο]τερηι[σι π]ερισχο[μενη προσειπεν  
 [εκ] με φ[ιλοι ρυσασθε] δυσα[μμορον] ως [δε και αυτους  
 [υμε]ας Αι[ηταο προ γαρ τ α]ναφανδα [τετυκται  
 85 [π]αντα μαλ ουδε τ[ι μηχ]ος ικανετ[αι αλλ επι νηι  
 [φε]υγωμεν πριν τον γ[ε] θοων επιβ[ημεναι ιππων  
 [δω]σω δε χρυσειον εγω δέρος ευνη[σασα  
 [φρο]υρον οφιν· τυνη δε θεους [εν]ι σοισ[ιν εταιροις  
 [ξει]νε· τεων μυθων επι[ι]στο[ρας] ου[ς] μοι υπεστης  
 90 [ποι]ησαι· μηδ ένθεν εκ[αστερ]ω<sup>ι</sup> ορμ[ηθεισαν

80. επ: so L; ἀπ' G, Merkel.

86. τον γ[ε]: τόνδε G (Merkel), τῶνδε L; the letter before the lacuna is certainly not δ.

90. The size of the lacuna makes it pretty certain that the papyrus had the right reading *ἐκαστέρῳ*; *ἐκατέρῳ* GL. The iota adscript was probably added by the person who put in the accents, but whether he is to be identified with the original scribe is doubtful.

### 693. SOPHOCLES, *Electra*.

8.6 x 3.6 cm.

A narrow strip from the top of a column, containing ll. 993-1007 of Sophocles' *Electra*. The MS., which is a good specimen of the oval type of uncials, was probably written in the first half of the third century. The correction in l. 1002 and the occasional lection signs, with the exception of the mark of elision in l. 993, are probably all by the original scribe. A rare variant occurs in l. 995. Our collation is derived from the Jahn-Michaelis edition of 1882.



[ετυγχ]αν' αυτη μη [κακων εσωζετ αν  
 [την ε]υλαβειαν [ωσπερ ουχι σωζεται  
 995 [ποι] γαρ ποτε βλε[ψασα τοιουτον θρασος  
 [αυτη θ]' οπλιζη κα[μ υπηρετειν καλεις  
 [ουκ ε]ισορας· γυνη [μεν ουδ ανηρ εφυσ  
 [σθε]νεις δ ελασσον [των εναντιων χειρι  
 [δαιμ]ων δε τοις μ[εν ευτυχης καθ ημεραν  
 1000 [ημι]ν δ απορρει κ[απι μηδεν ερχεται  
 [τις ο]νν τοιουτον ανδρα βουλευων ελιν  
 [αλυ]πο<sup>s</sup> ατης εξαπα[λλαχθησεται  
 [ορα κ]ακως πρασσο[ντε μη μειζω κακα  
 [κτησ]ωμεθ' ει τις το[υσδ ακουσεται λογους  
 1005 [λυει γ]αρ ημας ο[υδεν ουδ επωφελει  
 [βαξιν] καλην λ[αβοντε δυσκλεως θανειν  
 [ου γαρ θ]α[ν]ειν [εχθιστον  
 . . . . .

995. ποτε βλε[ψασα: so the Cod. Monacensis (Herwerden, *Anal. Crit.* p. 12): ποτ' εμβλέψασα L, &c. and vulg.

996. οπλιζη: so all the chief MSS. (όπλίζη); όπλίζει editors.

998. ελασσον: so Brunck and vulg.; ελαττον MSS.

1002. Perhaps αλλ υπο was originally written.

#### 694. THEOCRITUS, *Idyl XIII.*

14.2 × 8.4 cm.

A small fragment from the thirteenth *Idyl* of Theocritus, written in a good-sized upright round uncial hand of the second century, probably the earlier half of it. Numerous stops (high point), breathings, accents, &c. occur, all of which, as well as a few corrections or variants inserted above the line, seem to be due to the first hand. The text has a new variant in l. 34, and an error in l. 30, but elsewhere agrees with the MSS. Our collation is with the edition of Ziegler.

ἵκετο κὼ ταλαεργος  
 20 Ἀλκμηνας υἱὸς [  
 συν δ' α[ν]τῷ κατεβ[αινεν]  
 ατὶς κυανεᾶν οὐ[χ]  
 ἀλλὰ δ[ι]εξαῖσε· βα[θυν]  
 αἰετο[ς] ὦ[ς] μέγα λᾶ[ιτμα]  
 25 ἄμος δ' αντελλον[τι]  
 ἄρνα νέον βοσκο[ντι]  
 τ[α]μος ναυτιλι[α][ι]ς [  
 ἡρώων· κο[ιλ]αν δε [  
 Ἐλ[λ]άσποντον ἵκοντο  
 30 εἰσω δ' ὄρμον ἵκοντο  
 αυλακας ευρύνοντι  
 εκβαντες δ' επι θεῖ[να]  
 [δει]ε[λ]ινο[ι]· πολλοι δ' ε  
 [λειμ]ων [σ]φ[ι]ν πα[ρεκειτο]

19. κὼ : χὼ MSS.

20. Ἀλκμηνας: so most MSS. Ἀλκμήνης Z(iegler) following the Ambrosianus.

21. Against this line are two dashes, of which the meaning, if any, is obscure.

22-4 were rejected by Ahrens. In l. 23 δ[ι]εξαῖσε is corr. to δ[ι]εξαῖξε.

25. It is not certain what was written above the initial α. The supposed η between two points (i.e. ημος for αμος) is possibly an accent and breathing.

30. ἵκοντο: ἔθεντο MSS., Z. ἴκοντο is a repetition from the previous line.

34. [σ]φ[ι]ν πα[ρεκειτο]: γάρ σφιν ἔκειτο MSS., Z.

## 695. HERODOTUS V.

24.3 × 7.6 cm.

Part of chapters 104-5 of Herodotus, Book V, written in a good-sized third century uncial hand of the broad oval type. Two corrections and a breathing have been inserted by a second hand. The text offers no variants from that of Stein. On the verso, in a late third or early fourth century cursive hand, is part of a list of names of persons, with sometimes a statement of the villages to which they belonged, e. g. . . . ἀπὸ Θώλθ(εως), Ψεναμοῦν(ις) ἀπὸ Ταλαώ.

[τας Κυ]πριου[ς συναπι	να γενεσθαι της συλλο
στασθαι τους μεν δη [αλ	15 [γη]ς ωστε ταυτα συ[νυ
λους ανεπεισε Αμα[θου	φανθηναι τον Μιλ[ησι
σιους δε ου βουλ[ο]με[νους	ον Αριστα[γ]ορην π[ρ]ωτα
5 [[ε]]δι πειθεσθαι επολ[ιορ	μ[εν] λ[ε]γεται [α]υτον [ωσ
κεε προσκατημεν[ος	επυθετ[ο] ταυτα Ἰων[ων
Ονησιλος μεν νυν ε[πο	20 ουδενα λο[γ]ον ποιησ[α
λιорκεε Αμαθουντ[α	μενον εν ειδοτα ω[ς ου
βασιλει δε Δαρει[ω] ως	[τ]οι γε ου κα[[π <sup>τ</sup> ]]απροϊξ[ον
10 ε[ξ]α[γ]γ[ε]λ[θ]η [Σ]αρ[δ]ι[ς] α	[ται] αποσταντες ειρ[ε
λ[ω]σας εμπερησθα[ι	[σθ]α[ι] οιτινες ειεν οι Α [
υπ[ο] τε] Αθ[η]ναιων [και	25 [θην]αιο[ι] μετα] δε [πυθο
Ἰ[ω]νων τον δε ηγεμ[ο	.

22. The second α of κατα has been corrected from ο; i.e. the first hand wrote ουκ αποπροξονται, which was altered to ου καταπροξονται.

23. Final s of αποσταντες was put in (by the first hand) later.

## 696. THUCYDIDES IV.

Fr. (c) 15 × 19 cm.

In view of the peculiar excellence of the Oxyrhynchus Thucydides papyrus originally published in the Egypt Exploration Fund's *Archaeological Report* for 1896-7, and reprinted as P. Oxy. 16, the discovery of some more fragments of the same MS. was a welcome surprise. The new pieces comprise portions of six more columns, covering, with considerable lacunae, chapters 28 to 35 of the fourth book; and at the same time supply some of the missing beginnings of lines in the first column of the fragment originally found, which succeeded immediately.

The present part of the MS. possesses the same features which distinguished that published previously, and readers are referred to the description given in P. Oxy. I. p. 40. We see no reason for altering the date (first century A.D.) there proposed for the papyrus. We are, however, inclined to doubt whether the final ν which has been inserted occasionally in the text is after all by a hand different from that to which the other numerous corrections and *variae lectiones*





[κη]ν οἱ[s] μῆδε ἐπελθεῖν οἶον  
 [τ ην] φεύγον[τες] τε γὰρ ε  
 [κρατουν] κα[ι ἀναχω]ρουσι' ἐπε  
 . . . . .

Col. vi. 33. 2.

χωρ[ι]ων τ[ε] ]  
 30 [πο]τήτ[ι καὶ] ὑπο τη[s] πρὶν ε  
 [ρη]μίας τραχεῶν [οντων ἐν  
 [οἱ]s οἱ Λακεδαιμονιοὶ [ο]υ[κ ἐδ]υ  
 [ναντο] διώκειν ὅπλα ἔχον  
 [τες χρο]νον μὲν οὐ[ν τ]ίνα  
 35 [ὀλιγον ο]υτ' ὅς πρὸς ἀλλήλους  
 [ἡκρο]βολίσαντο τῶν δὲ  
 [Λακ]εδαιμονίων οὐκετι ο  
 [ξέως] ἐπεχεῖν ἡὶ προσπειπτοὶ  
 [ἐν δυ]ναμένων γ[νο]ντες αὐ  
 40 τοὺς οἱ[ι] ψεῖλοι βρ[α]δυτέρους ἤδη  
 ὄντας τῶι ἀμυνεσθ[αι καὶ  
 αὐτοὶ τη[τε] οὐ[ψ]ει τ·<sup>ω</sup>ου· θαρρ[εῖ]ν  
 το π[λ]εῖστον εἰληφ[ο]τες πολ  
 λαπλάσιοι φαῖνομενοὶ καὶ  
 45 ξυν·εἰ·θισμενοὶ μάλλον μῆ  
 κετι δεινούς αὐτοὺς ὁμοίως  
 σφισι' φαίνεσθ[αι] οτ[ι] οὐκ εὐθὺς  
 ἀξία τῆς πρ[ο]σ[δ]οκίαι[s] ἐπε  
 [πον]θεσαν ὡς περ ὅτε πρ[ω]  
 50 [τον ἀπε]βαινον] τη[γ]ν[ω]μη  
 [δεδουλω]μενοὶ ὡς ἐπ[ι] Λακε  
 [δαιμονίους] καταφρονῇ  
 [σαντες καὶ ἐμ]βοη[σα]ντε[s]  
 [αθροοὶ ὠρμη]σαν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ[s]  
 55 [καὶ ἐβαλλον λι]θ[ο]ι[s]  
 . . . . .

στρεφῆσθαι συγκλησαντες  
 ἀνέχωρησαν ἐς τὸ ἐσχάτον ἐρυ  
 μα τῆς νήσου οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχον  
 70 /· καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν φυλάκας ὡς

65 δ' ἐνεδοσαν ἐνταυθα δὴ πολ  
 ῶλωι ἐτι πλε·ῖ·ονι βοῇ τεθαρ  
 ρηκοτες οἱ ψεῖλοι ἐπεκείντο.

καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων  
 ὅσοι μὲν ὑποχωροῦντες ἐν  
 70 κατ[ελαμ]βαν[οντο] ἀπεθνή  
 σκον ὁ[ι] δὲ πολ[λοι] διαφεύγον  
 τες π[ρὸς] τὸ ἐρ[υ]μα μετὰ τῶν  
 ταυτ[ῆ]ι φυλάκων ἐταξάν  
 τὸ παρ[α πα]ν ὡς ἀμυνόμε  
 75 [νο]ι [ῆ]ιπ[ερ] ἡν ἐπιμαχόν [ ]  
 [οἱ δ Ἀθη]ναιοὶ ἐπισπο[μενοὶ]  
 / [π]ερ[ιοδον] μ[εν] αὐτῶν καὶ  
 κυκλ[ωσιν] χωρ[ι]ου ἰσχυ  
 οὐκ εἶχον προσιο[ντες]

80 δ' ἐξ ἐναντίας ὠσασθ[αι] ἐπεὶ  
 [ρῶν]το καὶ χρ[ονον] μὲν  
 [πολὺν καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας τὸ πλεῖ]  
 [στον ταλαιπ[ω]ρ[ο]υμε]νοὶ ἀμ[φο]  
 [τεροὶ ὑπο] τε τῆς μάχης κ[αὶ]  
 85 [διψ]ῆς καὶ ἡ[λιου] ἀντ[ε]ι[χ]ον  
 [πειρω]μενοὶ οἱ μὲν  
 . . . . .

Col. viii (=16. Col. iii). 36. 2.

2 lines lost.	λ ωι
ν[ι] οι	95 οι
ον τες	ν οι
π ως	[
90 ε ξ απινης	ξ υμπτωματι
[	μ εγαλω[ι]
[	100 μ οπυλαις
·/. α	τ ηι
	τ ων
	. . . .

4. <sup>οι</sup>απροσδοκη]τως: for the variant *απροσδοκητοις*, which is not otherwise recorded, cf. e. g. ii. 93. 4 *απροσδοκήτοις ἐπιπεσόντες*. It may be doubted whether *αὐτούς* was retained with this reading or was replaced by *αὐτοῖς*.

5. η: the omission of iota adscript is unusual in this papyrus.

6. ειν[αι αν: this is the order of CEGMf<sub>2</sub>; *αν εἶναι* ABF.

10-1. *αναλαμβανοντας ετι* was the original order, but *ετι* was subsequently inserted at the end of l. 10 and cancelled in l. 11. *ετι αναλαμβάνοντας* is the reading of all MSS. Hude prints *κἀαναλαμβάνοντας*, a modification of Abresch's conjecture *καὶ ἀναλαμβ.*

12. It is unfortunate that the beginning of this line is lost since editors have suspected a corruption in *λαθόντες τὴν ἀπόβασιν*. The ordinary reading suits the size of the lacuna well enough.

13. *τας ναυς*, which is added above the line, is found in all MSS. It is not absolutely essential, and may be an explanatory adscript which has become incorporated into the text.

ειω[θος: *εθος* MSS. The new variant is supported by other examples in Thucydides of *κατὰ* or *παρὰ τὸ εἰωθός*, e. g. in this book 17. 2, 55. 2, 67. 4.

14. [θος ες εφορμον της] is rather long for the lacuna, and possibly *της* was omitted.

16. *απεβαινεν: ἐπέβαινον*, the reading of the MSS., has been commonly changed by editors to *ἀπέβαινον*, an alteration which is now sanctioned by the papyrus. The singular *απεβαινεν* may also well be right.

22. Eleven lines are lost at the top of this column.

23. *ψειλο]ι και οι*: so the MSS. The papyrus gives no support to the suggested emendations (*ψιλοὶ καὶ οἶοι* Cobet, *οἱ ψιλοὶ καὶ* Madvig).

28. [κρατουν]: there would not be room for Hude's conjecture *ἐκρατοῦντο*.

29. Similar insertions of *ν ἐφελκυστικόν* occur in l. 47, 16. ii. 9, &c.

30. The original omission of *χωριων τε* may have been caused by the homoioarchon of *χαλεποτητι*, but it is noticeable that the words have not been supplied in quite their right position.

35. The addition of the *ς* of *ουτως* is parallel to the insertions of final *ν*; cf. note on l. 29. *οὕτω* MSS., Hude.

38. *επεχειν: ἐπεκθεῖν* MSS. *επεχειν* here might be supported by such a use as *τὰς*



ἐπὶ σφίσι ναὺς ἐπεχούσας (viii. 105. 3), but it may be a mere graphical error; ἐπεκθεῖν would be more likely to become ἐπεχειν than vice versa. The ι has been rewritten.

41. The superscribed reading, ἀμυνασθαι, is that of the MSS., but ἀμυνεσθαι is far preferable. It is noticeable that the interlinear α has a stroke above it instead of, as usual, the letter which was to be replaced.

42-3. The MSS. reading in this passage is τοῦ θαρσεῖν τὸ πλείστον, Dobree's conjecture πιστόν for πλείστον having been generally adopted by subsequent editors. It is nearly certain that the papyrus agreed with the MSS. in having πλειστον, for though there is a hole at the crucial point, the distance between the letters π and ε strongly suggests that another letter had intervened. There is no trace of any correction. It may then be assumed with little chance of error that the tradition of τοῦ θαρρεῖν or θαρσεῖν τὸ πλείστον goes back at least to the first century A.D.; and this reading is no doubt intelligible, if not very satisfactory. The interlinear variant τωι θαρρειν, so far from helping matters, only creates fresh difficulties, and seems indeed quite impossible. It may be noted that the top of the υ of του has been rewritten (by the first hand), but no importance should be attached to this circumstance; the same thing has been done again in the case of υ of πολυ in l. 63.

45. The ι written above εἰ of ξυνειθισμενοι has been again cancelled.

47. σφισι MSS., H.; cf. l. 29.

59. The blank space at the end of this line has been filled up by two angular marks; elsewhere one only is usually employed for this purpose.

60. διὰ τὸ αἰεῖ is the MSS. reading. The ο of το has been corrected from ε (?).

61. συγκλησαντες: elsewhere in the papyrus ξυν is written.

62. ανεχωρησαν: the first syllable was added afterwards, most probably by the first hand; ἐχώρησαν MSS.

63. ου πολυ απεχον: ὁ οὐ πολὺ ἀπεῖχε MSS.

65. For the insertion of an elided ε in δε cf. l. 80, and 16. iii. 8; δέ MSS.

δη: ἤδη MSS.

66. The alternative spelling πλεονι is that of the MSS.

τεθαρρηκοτες: so ABFG; τεθαρρηκότες H. with the other MSS.

71. διαφευγοντες: l. διαφυγόντες, with the MSS.

72. π[ρος]: ἐς MSS. The π is quite certain.

76. [οἱ δ' Αθη]ναιοι: καὶ οἱ Ἀθ. MSS. It is just possible, though unlikely, that the papyrus had και at the end of the previous line; there is not room in l. 76 for και before οἱ.

80. For the inserted ε cf. l. 65, note.

86. [πειρωμενο]ι scarcely fills the lacuna, in which three or four more letters would be expected.

87-102. The papyrus here supplies some of the letters missing at the beginnings of lines at the top of the first column of 16. The vertical strokes in the text show the line of fracture.

87-8. πιστευοντες: πιστεύσαντες MSS. The reading of the papyrus may be right.

697. XENOPHON, *Cyropaedia* I.

24.4 × 12.5 cm.

A leaf from a codex of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, containing most of i. 6. 3-11, and a small piece of another leaf containing a few letters from ii. 1. 30, written in a neat uncial hand which is probably not much later than A.D. 200. Several corrections or variants have been added above the line, chiefly by a second and more cursive hand. The numerous stops (high, middle and low point) are for the most part due to the original scribe.

The condition in which the text of the *Cyropaedia* still remains after centuries of use as a schoolbook is deplorable. Dindorf's Oxford edition, which alone gives a serious critical apparatus, omits several of the most important MSS., and the accuracy of the collations is not to be depended on. Hug's Teubner edition is mainly based on C, a Paris MS., which is one of the best, but since Hug's apparatus is not sufficiently detailed for his silence about the readings of C to be a trustworthy argument, we are unable to infer what they are except where he actually records them. Mr. E. C. Marchant, however, whose forthcoming edition of the *Cyropaedia* may be expected to reduce the existing chaos to order, has very kindly placed at our disposal for the passage covered by the papyrus his unpublished collations of two of the chief MSS., the Bodleianus (Bib. Canon. 39, which in the *Anabasis* is generally called D, though different from Dindorf's D), and the Etonensis, which is closely related to C.

The MSS. of the *Cyropaedia* divide into two main families; one group consists of AG, which are the basis of Dindorf's edition, C, which in the early part of the *Cyropaedia* supports AG and is the basis of Hug's edition, and the Etonensis (Et.); while the other group consists of Dindorf's D and the Bodleianus (Bod.), and is supported through a large portion of the passage covered by the papyrus by Stobaeus. The character of Dindorf's R and the relation of it to the two main groups is uncertain. The papyrus on the whole supports the group represented by D, Bod. and Stobaeus, with which its readings agree against the AGC, Et., group about twice as often as vice versa, and adds a number of variants peculiar to itself. Though not of equal importance to that of the Oxyrhynchus fragment of the *Anabasis* (463), the text of which seems to represent the archetype from which the existing MSS. of that work are descended in two main traditions, the papyrus is of considerable interest.

Our collation is with the edition of Dindorf, supplemented occasionally by that of Hug. But the only MSS. of which the accurate collation is guaranteed

are the two for information about which we are indebted to Mr. Marchant. Fortunately these are typical and important representatives of the two main groups.

Verso.

- ιζ
- γαρ εφη ακουσας ποτε σου οτι εικोटως αν κα[ι] παρα θε I. 6, § 3  
ων πρακτικωτερος ειη. ωσπερ και παρ ανθρω[π]ων. οστις  
μη ο[π]οτε εν αποροις ειη. τοτε κολακευοι· αλλ [ο]τε αριστα  
πραττ[οι] τοτε μαλιστα των θεων μεμν[<sup>ω</sup>οι]το· [κα]ι των φι  
5 λων δ εφησθα χρηναι ωσαντως επιμελεισθα[ι] ουκουν νῦ § 4  
εφη ω πα[ι] δι εκεινας τας επιμελειας ηδειον μεν ερχη  
π[ρ]ος τους θεους δεησομενος ελπίζεις δε μ[α]λλον τευξε  
σθαι ων εαν δεη οτι συνειδεναι σαυτωι δοκει[ς ου] πωποτε  
αμελησας αυτων· πανυ μεν ουν εφη ω πατ[ε]ρ ως προς  
εις  
10 φιλους μοι τους θεους οντας ουτω διακειμ[α]ι [[ω]]. τι γαρ ε § 5  
φη ω παι εκεινα μεμνησαι α ποτε εδοκει ημ[ιν]· οποσα γαρ  
δηπου δεδωκασιν οι θε[οι] μαθοντας ανθρω[π]ους βελτει  
[ο]ν πραττειν. η ανεπιστημονας αυτων οντ[ας]. και εργαζο  
μενους μαλλον ανυτειν η αργουντας και ε[πι]μελομε  
15 ν[ο]υς ασφαλεστε[ρ]ον αν διαγειν η αφυλακτο[υ]ντας τουτῶ.  
[π]α[ρ]εχοντας αυτους οιους δει. ουτως ημιν εδο[κ]ει δειν και  
[αιτ]ε[ι]σθαι τα αγαθα παρα των θεων· ναι μα Δι ε[φ]η ο Κυρος § 6  
σου· γ  
μεμνημαι μεντοι [[σου]] τ[αυ]τα ακουσας και αρ α[να]γκη ην  
π[ει]θεσθαι τωι λογωι τουτωι· και οйда σε επιτιθεντα αυ  
20 τ[ωι] ως ουδε θεμις ειη αιτεισθαι παρα των θεων ουτε  
ιπ[π]ευειν μη μαθοντας ιππομαχουντας νικαν· ουτε  
μ[η] ε[πι]σταμενους τοξευειν τοξευοντας κρατειν των ε  
[πιστ]αμενων τοξευειν· ουτε μη επισταμ[ε]νους κυβερ  
να[ν] σωζειν ευχ[ε]σθαι ναυν κυβερνωντας· [ο]υτε μη σπει  
σιτον  
25 [ρον]τα[ς] γε σιτον [ε]υχεσθαι καλον αυτοις φνεσθαι· ουτε μη  
φ[υ]λατ[τ]ομενου[ς] γε εν πολεμωι σωτηριαν αιτεισθαι· πα  
ρ[α] γαρ τους τω[ν] θεων θε[ε]σμους ταυτα και τα τοιαυτα πᾶ



τ[α ειναι] του[ς δ]ε [α]θεμιστα ευχομενους. ομο[ι]ως εφησθα  
 [εικο]ς ε[ι]ναι παρα θεων ατυχειν. ωσπερ και παρ ανθρωπῶ  
 30 [απρ]ακ[τ]ειν τους παρανομα δεομενους· εκεινων δε ε § 7  
 [φη] ω πα[ι] επελαθου α ποτε εγω και συ ελογ[ι]ζομεθα. ως  
 [ικα]νο[ν] αν ειη και καλον αν[δ]ρι ερ[γ]ον ει τις δυναιτο επιμε  
 [λη]θ[η]ναι οπ[ω]ς αυτος καλο[ς] τε καγαθος δοκ[ι]μως γενοιτ[ο]  
 [και] τ[α] ε[πιτη]δεια [ο]πως αυτ[ο]ς τε και οι οικεται ικανως  
 35 [ε]χοιεν το δε[ ] του[το]ν μεγ[αλ]ου ερ[γο]ν ου[τ]ω[ς] [ο]ντος υφ[ι]στ[α]  
 [σθαι ανθρωπ]ω[ν] αλλω[ν] π[ροσ]τ[α]τευ[ε]ιν ο[π]ως εξουσι  
 [απαντα τα επιτηδ]εια εκ[πλ]εω και οπως ε[σο]νται α[παν  
 [τες οious δει τουτ]ο θαυμ[ασ]τον δηπου ημ[ιν] τοτε [ε  
 [φαινετο ναι μα Δ]ι εφη [ω πατερ μεμνημαι] κα[ι] του § 8  
 40 [το σου λεγοντος σ]υνεδ[οκ]ει κα[ι] εμοι υπερμε[γέ]θες ει  
 [ναι εργον το καλως αρ]χει[ν] κα[ι] νυν γ εφη ταυτα] μ[οι] δο  
 [κει οταν προς αυ]το το [αρχ]ειν [σκοπων λογιζω]μ[αι] ο  
 [ταν μεντοι προς αλ]λου[ς] ανθρωπους ιδων κατανο  
 [ησω οιοι τε οντες δι]αγιγνονται αρχοντες και οιοι οντες  
 45 [ανταγωνισται ημι]ν ε[σονται πανυ μοι δοκει αισχρον ει  
 ]ον[τας  
 [ναι τοιουτους υποπ]τη[ξαι]

14 lines lost

Recto.

ιη

61 ερχη τοις παρα Κναξαρε[[ω]] χρημασιν· εγωγε εφη ο Κυρος· § 9  
 οισθα δε εφη οποσα αυτωι εστιν· μα τον Δι εφη ο Κυρος·  
 ου μεν δη ομως δη· τουτοις πιστευεις τοις αδηλοις· οτι  
 δε πολλων μεν ου δεησει πολλα δε και αλλα νυν αναγ  
 65 κη δαπαναν αυτον γινωσκεις· γινωσκω εφη ο Κυρος·  
 εαν ουν εφη αυτον επιλιπη η δαπανη και ε[[ξ]]ων ψευδη  
 ται· πως σοι εξει τα της στρατιας δηλον οτι ου καλως·  
 αταρ εφη ω πατερ συ ει ενοραιοις τινα πορον και απ εμου

αν προσ<sup>γε νο</sup>[[γιγνο]]μενον εως ετι εν φιλιαι εσμεν λεγε· ε

§ 10

70 ρωτας εφη ω παι τουτο ει τις [α]ν απο σου πορος προσγε  
νοιτο· απο τινος δε μαλλον [ει]κος πορον γενεσθαι η α  
π[ο] του δυναμιν εχοντ[ος]· συ δε πεζην μεν δυναμιν ε  
χων ενθενδε ε[ρχ]η ανθ ης οιδ οτι πολλαπλασιαν αλλῃ  
ουκ αν δεξαιο· [ι]ππικον δε σοι οπερ κρατιστον [το] Μηδῶ

75 συμμαχον εσται· ποιον ουν εθνος των περιξ ου δοκεις και  
χαριζεσθαι βουλομενον υμιν υπ[η]ρέτησειν· και φοβου  
μενον μη τι παθη α χρη σε συν Κναξαρει κοινη σκοπει

σθαι μηποτ επιλιπη <sup>τι</sup>[[τι]] υμας ων δει υπαρχειν· και εθους  
ενεκα μ[η]χανωμενον προσόδου πορον· το[δ]ε δε [παν

80 [των μαλιστα μοι μεμνησο μηδεποτε αναμενειν το]  
ποριζεσ[θα]ι τα επιτη[δε]ια [εσ]τ αν η χρεια σε α[ναγκαση αλλ  
οταν μαλιστα ευπορης τοτε προ της αποριας μ[αλλον μη  
χανω και γαρ τευξει μαλλον παρ ων αν δεη μη α[πορειν  
δοκων· και αναιτιος ε[σει] π[α]ρα τοις [σ]εαυτου στρ[ατιωταις  
85 εκ τουτου δε μαλλον [κ]α[ι] υπο αλλω[ν] α[ιδους τευξη και ην  
τινας βουλη ευ ποιησα[ι τη δυναμε]ι η κακως μαλλον  
εως αν εχης τα δεοντα οι στρατιωται υπηρετησουσι σοι  
και πιστικωτατους δε λογους σαφ ισθι τοτε δυνησει λε  
γειν· οτανπερ και ενδεικνυσ[θαι μα]λιστα δ[υνη] ποιειν ι

90 κανος ων και ευ και κα[κως αλλ] εφη ω π[α]τερ α[λ]λω[ς τε

§ 11

μοι δοκεις ταυτα παντα καλως λεγειν και οτι <sup>α</sup>[[ων]] [μεν  
νυν λημψονται οι στρατ[ιωται ο]υ[δ]ει[ς αυτων εμοι χαριν  
εισεται· ισασι γαρ εφ οis αυτους Κναξαρης αγ[εται συμμαχους

οτι δ αν προς τοις ειρη[μ]εν[ο]is λαμβανη <sup>ι</sup>τ[ις ταυτα και τι

95 μη[ν ν]ομ[ιο]υ[σι] κα[ι] χαριν τουτων εικος ειδειναι τω διδον  
τι· το δ' εχοντα δ[υ]ναμιν ηι εστι μεν φιλους ευ ποιουντας αντ  
[ω]φ[ελ]ε[ι]σθα[ι] εστι δ[ε] εχθρους εχ[οντα] [πε]ιρ[ασθαι] τισασθαι ε  
[π]ειτα αμελε[ιν] τ[ο]υ πορι<sup>ιν</sup>ζεσθαι οiei τι [εφη ηττον τι τουτο αι  
[σ]χρον ειναι η ει τις εχων [μεν α]γρο[υς] εχων δε εργατας





τουτων: so MSS., Dind.; om. Stob.; τῶτων (περὶ) Madvig followed by Hug.

16. αυτοὺς (i.e. αὐτούς): ἐαυτούς D, Bod., Stob.; οὖν τοιούτους ἐαυτούς AGR, Dind.; δ' οὖν τοιούτους ἐαυτούς Et.

17. τα ἀγαθὰ: so D; τὰγαθὰ AGR, Et., Stob., Dind.; τὰ ἀγαθὰ τὰ Bod.

18. τ[αυ]τα: so D, Bod.; τοιούτων G; τοιαῦτα AR, Et., Dind. There is certainly not room for τ[οιαν]τα.

ην: so D, Bod., Stob.; με AGR, Et., Dind.

19. τουτωι: so D, Bod., Stob.; om. AGR, Et., Dind.

καὶ οἶδα σε ἐπιτιθέντα αὐτ[ωι]: so D, Bod.; καὶ οἶδα προστιθέντα αὐτῷ Stob.; ἐπιτιθέντα αὐτῷ G (second hand in marg.); καὶ γὰρ οἶδά σε λέγοντα αἰεί AG (first hand) R, Et., Dind.

20. ουτε: οὕτως corr. to οὔτε by second hand Bod.; οὔτε other MSS., Dind. Similarly with ουτε in l. 21.

23. τοξευειν: so D, Bod., Stob.; om. AGR, Et., Dind.

24. ευχ[ε]σθαι: so DGR, Bod., Et., Stob., Dind.; ἔχεσθαι A.

ναυν: so Stob.; ναῦς MSS., Dind.

[ο]ντε: so Stob.; οὐδέ MSS., Dind.

σπει[ρον]τα[ς]: so MSS., Dind.; σπείραντας (Stob.) is equally possible.

25. αυτοις σιτον: so DG (second hand), Bod., Stob. AG (first hand) R, Et. agree with the original reading of the papyrus in omitting σιτον (so Dind.).

ουτε: οὐδέ MSS., Stob., Dind.

26 παρ[α]: so ADR, Bod., Et., Stob., Dind.; περί G.

27. ταυτα καὶ τα τοιαυτα παντ[α]: so Bod., Stob., and (with the omission of πάντα) D; πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα AGR, Et., Dind.

28. [α]θεμιστα: so AG (corrected) LM, Bod., Stob.; ἀθέμιτα DEHRG (first hand), Et., Dind.

29. θεων: so ADG, Stob., Dind.; τῶν θεῶν R, Et.

παρ: so Stob.; παρά MSS., Dind.

30. παρανομα: so ADGR, Bod., Stob., Dind.; τὰ παράνομα Et.

δε ε[φη]: so G (second hand in marg.), Bod.; δ' ἔφη D; δέ AG (first hand) R, Et., Dind.

31. α ποτε: so ADG, Bod., Et., Dind.; ὅποτε R.

32. αν: om. MSS., Dind. After δύναιτο Bod. has ἀνδρῆ (sic).

33. οπ[ω]ς: so D, Bod.; ὅπως ἄν AGR, Et., Dind.

καλο[ς] τε: τε καλός MSS., Dind.

δοκ[ι]μωσ: so ADG, Bod., Et., Dind.; om. R.

34. τα ε[πιτη]δεια: so MSS. here and in l. 37; τὰπιτήδεια Dind.

[ο]πως: so D, Bod.; om. AGR, Et., Dind.

οι: so AD, Bod., Et., Dind.; om. G.; above the line in R.

35. ου[τ]ωσ [ο]ντος: so D, Bod.; ὄντος οὕτως AGR, Dind.; ἀγαθοῦ ὄντος οὕτως Et.

υφ[ι]στ[α]σθαι: so DR, Bod.; ἐπίστασθαι AG, Et., Dind.; ἐφί with dots underneath before ἐπίστασθαι L.

36. εξουσι[ν] απαντα: so D, Bod.; ἔξουσι πάντα AGR, Et., Dind. What reading the papyrus had is uncertain.

37. α[παν]τες: πάντες MSS., Dind.

38. τοτε [ε]φαινετο: ἐφαίνετο εἶναι MSS., Dind.

40. σου: so AGR, Bod., Et., Dind.; ὅτε σου D. It is unlikely that the papyrus had D's reading for [ι τουτο is rather long for the end of l. 39.

συνεδ[οκ]ει: so D, Bod., Stob.; συνεδόκει οὖν AGR, Et., Dind.

41. νυ[ν] γ: γ' is omitted by R, Et., and Stob., inserted in ADG, Bod. (so Dind.). Considerations of space make it probable that the papyrus read γ.

ταυτα] μ[οι] δοκει: the restoration of this is uncertain. We have followed the reading

of Stobaeus ταῦτά μοι δοκεῖ, which suits the lacuna best. ταῦτά μοι τὰ αὐτά AG, and, with the addition of δοκεῖ, CR, Et.; ταῦτά μοι δοκεῖ ταῦτα D.

43. [μεντοι]: so D, Stob.; μέντοιγε AGR, Et., Dind. Which reading the papyrus had is uncertain.

44. [οιοι τε]: so D; om. τε RG (second hand in marg.), Dind.; οἰοί τε ὄντες δια- γίνονται ἄρχοντες καί is omitted by AG (first hand), Et., owing to homoioteleuton.

46. The restoration is uncertain. CR, Et. have εἶναι τὸ τοιούτους αὐτοὺς ὄντας ὑποπτηῆσαι, and so D with the omission of τό; εἶναι τὸ τοιούτοις ὑποπτ. A (so Dind.); εἶναι τὸ τοιούτους (apparently) ὑποπτ. G, αὐτοὺς ὄντας being added over the line by a later hand. Probably the papyrus originally had εἶναι τοιούτους υποπτηῆσαι, ὄντας and perhaps αὐτοὺς being added over the line by the corrector.

61. ερχη: so MSS.; ἔρχει Dind.

Κναξαρει, the corrected reading of the papyrus, agrees with D. CAGR agree with the reading of the first hand Κναξαρεω. Κναξάρη Bod., Dind.

εγωγε: ἔγωγ' Dind.

61-2. ο Κυρος οισθα δε εφη: ὁ Κῦρος τί δὲ ἔφη οἶσθα CDR, Bod., Et., and in marg. by a later hand G, Dind.; om. AG (first hand).

62. εστιν: ἐστι MSS., Dind.

63. ομως δη, the reading of the first hand, is clearly an error, and ought to have been erased by the corrector when he inserted ομως δε. οὐ μὲν δὴ οἶσθα ὁμῶς δέ D; οὐ μὲν δὴ ὁμῶς δέ AGR, Bod., Et., Dind.

πιστευεις: so most MSS., Dind.; πιστεύειν Bod.

64. ου δεησει: σοι δεήση D, Bod.; σοι δεήσει CR; δεήσει AG, Dind.; σοι δεήσοι Et.

πολλα δε και αλλα νυν αναγκη δαπαναν αυτον: om. αὐτόν AGR, Et., Dind.; πολλὰ δὲ ἀνάγκη αὐτὸν νῦν δαπανᾶν D, Bod.

65. γινωσκεις: om. Bod.; ἐκεῖνο οὐ γινώσκεις AGR, Et., Dind.; ἐκεῖνο οὐ γινώσκεις D in marg. by later hand; δαπανᾶν ἐκεῖνον οὐ γινώσκεις Hug following Madvig.

66. εαν ουν εφη αυτον επιλιπη η δαπανη και: εἰ οὖν ἔφη αὐτὸν ἡ δαπάνη ὑπολείπη ἢ καί D, and with ἀπολείπη for ὑπολείπη Bod. ἦν οὖν ἔφη ἐπιλίπη αὐτὸν ἡ δαπάνη ἢ καί A, Et., Dind., R (with ἐπιλείπη by the first hand) and (with ἦ added by a later hand) G.

ψευδηται: so D; ψευδῇ A; ψεύσεται G, Bod.; ψεύσεται CR, Et., Dind.

67. πως σοι εξει: so CDR, Bod., Et.; ὦ παῖ πῶς ἄρ' ἔξει (or perhaps ἄρ') G, Dind.; ὦ παῖ πῶς ὀρέξῃ A.

δηλον οτι ου καλως: so AGR, Et., Dind.; οὐ καλῶς δῆλον ὅτι D and (reading δηλόνοτι) Bod.

68. εφη ω πατερ: so AGR, Et., Dind.; ὦ πάτερ ἔφη D, Bod.

69. προσγενομενον: so DR, Bod., Dind. AG, Et. agree with the reading of the first hand προσγι(γ)νομενον.

70. ω παι τουτο: so AG (first hand) R, Dind.; τοῦτο ὦ παῖ DG (in marg. second hand), Bod., Stob. Flor. 48. 70; ὦ παῖ Et.

ει τις [α]ν: so DG (second hand in marg.), Bod.; εἴ τις Stob.; πῶς ἂν R; ποῦ ἂν AG (first hand), Dind.; τίς ἂν Et.

προσγενοιτο: so D, Bod., Stob., Dind.; γένοιτο AG (first hand, τακτικόν being added in in the margin) R, Et.

71. δε: so ADGR, Et., Stob., Dind.; δεῖ Bod.

[ει]κος: so D, Stob.; εἰκός ἐστι CAGR, Et., Dind.; om. Bod., which also omits πόρον.

γενεσθαι: so D, Bod., Et., Stob. (Hug); προσγένεσθαι AGR, Dind.

72. μεν: so AGR, Bod., Dind.; om. D. Et. places μέν after δύναμιν.

εχων ενθενδε: so D, Bod., Et.; ἐνθένδε ἔχων AGR, Dind.

73. ε[ρχ]η: so MSS.; ἔρχει Dind.

οιδ: so AG (first hand) R, Et., Dind.; εὖ οἶδ' DG (second hand), Bod.

74. Μηδων: so ADGR, Dind.; τῶν Μήδων Bod., Et.  
 75. συμμαχον: so ADG, Bod., Dind.; om. R; δοκεῖ εἶναι σύμμαχον ἔσται Et.  
 δοκεῖς: so Bod.; δοκεῖ τι (apparently) D; δοκεῖ σοι AGR, Et., Dind.  
 77. παθη: so ADGR, Bod., Dind.; πάθοι Et.  
 Κυαξαρει: so ADL and (in an erasure) R, Et.; Κυαξάρη G, Bod., Dind.  
 κοινη: this word is placed before συν by the MSS. and Dind.  
 78. επιλιπη: so AGR, Et., Dind.; ὑπολείπη D, Bod.  
 υμας: so ADGR, Bod., Dind.; ἡμᾶς Et.  
 εθους: ἔθους δέ Dind. with all MSS. except Et., which has καὶ ἔθους μοι μέμνησο added by a second hand in the margin against ἔνεκα μηχανᾶσθαι προσόδου πόρον τόδε δὲ πάντων μάλιστα.  
 79. μ[η]χανωμενον: so D, Bod.; μηχανᾶσθαι AGR, Et., Dind.  
 το[δ]ε: so CDR, Bod., Et., Stob. *Flor.* 48. 71, Dind.; τό AG.  
 81. τα επιτη[δε]ια: cf. note on l. 34.  
 [εσ]τ: so ADG, Bod., Et., Stob., Anon. *ap.* Boisson, *Anecd.* i. p. 113, Dind.; ἔως R.  
 82. οταν . . . ευπορης: so AGR (second hand), Et., Stob., Anon., Dind.; ὅτε . . . εὐπορεῖς D; ὅτε μὲν . . . εὐπορεῖς Bod.; ὅταν . . . εὐπορεῖς R (first hand).  
 μ[αλλον μη]χανω: so DG (in marg. by second hand), Stob.; om. μάλλον AG (first hand) R, Et., Anon., Dind.  
 83. τευξει: so D, Anon. (?), Et., Dind.; τοξεύη A; τεύξη GR, Bod., Stob.  
 α[πορειν] δοκων: so D, Bod., Stob.; ἄπορος δοκῶν εἶναι A, Et., Anon., G (omitting δοκῶν), and (ἄπορος being added in marg. by a later hand) L, Dind. α[πορος ειναι] is too long for the lacuna.  
 84. και: so D, Stob.; καὶ ἔτι GR, Bod., Et., Dind.; καὶ αἴτι A.  
 [σ]εαυτου: so perhaps R (first hand, σ being over an erasure); αὐτοῦ AL (first hand); ἐαυτοῦ D; σαυτοῦ G, Et., Stob., Dind.; σαυτοῦ (σ corr. from ἐ) Bod.  
 85. τουτου: so ADGR, Bod., Stob., Dind.; τούτων Et.  
 δε: so ADR, Bod., Stob., Dind.; δὴ G.  
 αλλω[ν]: so AGR, Et., Dind.; τῶν ἄλλων D, Bod., Stob.  
 86. τινας: so AG (second hand) R, Bod., Dind.; τινα DG (first hand ?), Et., Stob.  
 βουλη: so ADGR, Bod., Stob., Dind.; βούλει Et.  
 ευ: so D, Bod., Et.; ἡ εὖ AGR, Stob., Dind.  
 ποιησα[ι]: so ADG, Bod., Et., Stob., Dind.; ποιεῖσθαι R (first hand apparently).  
 [τηι δυναμε]ι: so here AGR, Et., Dind.; D, Bod., and Stob. place it after βούλη.  
 87. εως αν εχης τα δεοντα οι στρατιωται υπηρετησουσι σοι: so, with the exception of ἔχωσι for ἔχης, AGR, Et., Dind.; ἔως ἂν ἔχωσιν ὑπ. σοι οἱ στρ. ἔχοντες τὰ δέοντα D, Bod.; ὑπηρετήσουσιν οἱ στρατιῶται ἔχοντες τὰ δέοντα Stob.  
 88. πιστικωτατους δε λογους σαφ ισθι τοτε δυνησει λεγειν: so, with δυνήσῃ corrected from δυνήσει by second hand, D, and, with δυνήσῃ, Stob.; πιστικώτερον τοὺς δὲ λόγους κ.τ.λ. corr. to καὶ πιστικωτάτους τοὺς λόγους κ.τ.λ. Bod.; καὶ πιστοτέρους σάφα ἴσθι δυνήσῃ λόγους τότε λέγειν Et.; πιστικωτέρους σάφ' ἴσθι λόγους δυνήσῃ τότε λέγειν AG and, with δυνήσῃ λόγους, R; πειστικωτέρους σάφ' ἴσθι λόγους δυνήσῃ τότε λέγειν Dind. It is tolerably certain that the papyrus had δυνήσῃ not δυνηση.  
 89. οτανπερ: so CDR, Bod., Stob., Dind.; ὅθενπερ A; ὅσαπερ G; ὅσονπερ Et.  
 ποιειν ι]κανος ων και ευ: so D, Stob.; καὶ εὖ ποιεῖν ἱκανὸς ὧν AGR, Et., Dind.; εὖ ποιεῖν ἱκανὸς ὧν καὶ κακῶς (καὶ κακῶς *in rasura*) Bod.  
 91. δοκεις ταυτα παντα καλως λεγειν: so D; καλῶς δοκεῖς ταῦτα λέγειν πάντα AGR and (with λέγεις) Et., Dind., and (omitting πάντα and with καλῶς . . . ταῦτα *in rasura*) Bod.  
 α [μεν] νυν λημψονται: so DR; ἃ μὲν αὖ νῦν λήμψ. Bod.; ἃ μὲν ὧν νῦν λήμψ. G (first hand), with μὲν αὖ νῦν added in marg. by a later hand; ὧν μὲν νῦν λέγονται λήψεσθαι A, Et., Dind., with which the reading of the first hand in the papyrus so far agrees in having ὧν.



92. τούτων χάριν MSS. (except Et. χάριν τούτων) Dind.; but there is not room for τούτων in the lacuna.

93. αυτοὺς: so ADGR, Bod., Dind.; αὐτός Et.

Κναξάρης ἀγ[εται]: so AGR, Et., Dind.; ἄγεται Κναξάρης D, Bod.; ἐπάγεται Cobet, followed by Hug.

95. For εἰκος D and Bod. have πλείστην εἰκός, and πλείστην is added in the margin of G by a later hand. There is not room for πλείστην in the lacuna, so the papyrus probably agreed in omitting it with AG (first hand) R, Et., Dind.

96. το: so AG, Dind.; τόν D, Bod.; τῷ Et.

ἐχοντα: so ADG (second hand) R, Bod., Dind.; ἔχοντι G (first hand); ἔχοντι (with a above ι) μέν Et., omitting μέν after ἐστι. The supplement at the end of the line is longer than it should be by three or four letters, but the only variant is ποιῶντα (R) for ποιῶντας ADG (corrected), Dind.

97. ἐστι: so DGR, Bod., Et., Dind.; ἔτι A.

ἔχοντα is bracketed by Hug, following Madvig.

ἐ[π]εῖτα: so AG, Et., Dind. (ἔπειτ'); ἀπ' αὐτῶν DR, Bod., which has τικτᾶσθαι for τίσασθαι.

98. πορι[ζ]εσθαι: so ADG, Dind., agreeing with the first hand; πορίζειν R, Bod., agreeing with the corrector.

τι: so ADG, Dind.; τοι R, Et.

ἦττον τι τοῦτο αἰσ[χ]ρόν εἶναι: τοῦτο αἰσχρόν ἦττον εἶναι D; τοῦτο αἰσχρόν ἦττον εἶναι δ' (αι δ' in an erasure) Bod.; ἦττον τοῦτο εἶναι αἰσχρόν AG, Dind., and (with τοι for τι in an erasure) R; ἦσσόν τι τοῦτο εἶναι αἰσχρόν Et.

99. ἐχων [μεν]: so ADGR, Bod., Dind.; μὲν ἔχων Et.

100. δ]η: so G in marg.; om. ADR, Et., Dind. The reading of the papyrus is uncertain.

109. και τουτο: τοιούτο AD; τοιούτον G, Dind.

## 698. XENOPHON, *Cyropaedia* I.

23.5 × 7.9 cm.

Two fragments from the conclusion of the first book of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, with the title, which is written, as usual, below the final column. We assign the small detached piece from § 45 to the previous column owing to the height of the papyrus. It is remarkable that what according to the accepted division are the opening words of Book ii, τοιαῦτα μὲν . . . Περσίδος, are here made the last sentence of Book i. The text does not otherwise differ from that of Dindorf.

On the verso of the papyrus are parts of two columns of a money-account in a cursive hand, which apparently is not later than about the middle of the third century. The text on the recto, therefore, which is written in sloping

oval uncials of the common type, is to be assigned to the earlier part of the century.

## Col. i.

υπ αυτων τουτων δι]κηγν [   
 εδοσαν πολλοις δ ο]νκ ηρ [   
 [κεσεν

μ[ε]χρι των ορ[ι]ων τ[ης] Περ   
 σιδος·   
 ,,Σ,,  
 10

## Col. ii.

[ουδε]ν θαυμαστ[ον] ου   
 γαρ αν]αγκη αυτο[ις] εστιν   
 5 ω[ν] α]ν μ[η] εθελωσιν [επι   
 μ[ε]λεσθαι τοιαυτα [μεν δη   
 αφ[ι]κοντο δι[α]λεγομενοι

Ξενοφων[τος]   
 Κυρην [   
 παιδεια   
 [α

5. The vestiges are rather in favour of εθελωσιν (R), but θελωσιν (ADG) is not impossible.

6. τοιαυτα: so AD; ταυτα G corr. marg.

As already observed in the introduction, this sentence commences the next Book according to the ordinary division.

699. THEOPHRASTUS, *Characters*.

7 × 4.2 cm.

The text of the *Characters* of Theophrastus is notoriously insecure, and offers a problem upon which an early papyrus of any part of the book might be expected to throw some light. The present fragment, which contains the end of ch. 25 and the beginning of ch. 26, is however disappointing in this respect, giving a version which seems to be not less of the nature of a compendium than that of the Codex Monacensis. Unfortunately that MS. includes only the first twenty-one chapters so that an actual comparison is not possible. The interest of the papyrus, therefore, chiefly lies in showing the antiquity of such compendia of the *Characters*. It is written in rather small oval uncials, which probably date from the earlier part of the third century.

[. . .]λ[ 13 letters	[κ]ος τοιουτος ιδια[ι . . . . .
[κ]αι λεγειν π[. . . . .	μεν λεγων ουκ [αγαθον
[α]υτον σωσ[ας επι σκη	10 [πο]λυκοιρανη ει[s κοιρα
[ν]ην [	νος εστω ε[is] βασιλ[ευσ
5 [η ολι]γ[αρχ]ια εστ[ιν φιλαρχι	και του δημου χειροτο
[α] τις ισχυος ι[. . . . .	νου[ν]τος πολλους [λεγει πα
[γ]λιχομενη [ο δε ολιγαρχι	[ρελθ]ων αρκεσε[ιν ενα

1-4. The conclusion of ch. 25 (περί δειλίας) in the ordinary version is καὶ διηγείσθαι ὡς κινδυνεύσας ἕνα σέσωκα τῶν φίλων· καὶ εἰσάγειν πρὸς τὸν κατακείμενον σκεψομένους τοὺς δημότας καὶ τοὺς φυλέτας, καὶ τούτων ἅμα ἐκάστῳ διηγείσθαι ὡς αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ χερσὶν ἐπὶ σκηνὴν ἐκόμισεν. If λεγειν in l. 2 is right there is no room for εκομισεν. λιτην (not φυλετην), which is an alternative, suggests nothing. In l. 4 after [ν]ην is a broad blank space marking the end of the chapter.

5. Ch. 26 (περί ὀλιγαρχίας) begins δόξειεν (δ') ἂν εἶναι ἡ ὀλιγαρχία φιλαρχία τις ισχυρῶς κέρδους γλιχομένη. ὁ δὲ ὀλιγαρχικὸς τοιοῦτος οἶος τοῦ δήμου βουλευομένου (βουλομ. MSS.) τίνες τῶ ἄρχοντι προσαιρήσονται (προαιρ. MSS.) τῆς πομπῆς τοὺς συνεπιμελησόμενους παρελθὼν ἀποφύνασθαι (ἀποφύνας ἔχει MSS.) ὡς δεῖ αὐτοκράτορας τούτους εἶναι· κἂν ἄλλοι προβάλλωνται δέκα λέγειν ἱκανὸς εἰς ἐστίν, τοῦτον δὲ ὅτι δεῖ ἄνδρα εἶναι. καὶ τῶν Ὀμήρου ἐπῶν τοῦτο ἐν μόνον κατέχειν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀγαθόν, κ.τ.λ. (omitting εἰς βασιλεύς). The definition of ὀλιγαρχία has generally been recognized as unsatisfactory and the MSS. disagree, Pal.-Vat. omitting φιλαρχία and the others reading ισχυροῦ for ισχυρῶς. The papyrus variant ισχυος, which gives the sense aimed at by Fischer's emendation of κέρδους to κράτους, is very likely right, though the word at the end of l. 6 remains doubtful. The first letter, if not ι, seems to be γ, η, or π. Besides being much more compressed the text of the papyrus shows a different order, ll. 12-4 corresponding to what in the MSS. precedes the Homeric quotation. In ll. 9 sqq. it is not certain that μεν, νος, κ.τ.λ. are the beginnings of the lines since the papyrus is broken immediately before those letters; but the arrangement proposed is the most probable.

## 700. DEMOSTHENES, *De Corona*.

14.5 × 4.4 cm.

This fragment is a strip from the bottom of a column containing parts of pp. 230-1 of the *De Corona*. The lines being incomplete both at beginning and end, it is doubtful how they should be divided; the arrangement given below is therefore hypothetical. The hand is a rather irregular upright uncial of medium size, and more probably of the second century than the third. A high point is occasionally used, this and the diaeresis being the only lection



marks that occur. Our collations in this and the other oratorical fragments (701-4) are with the Teubner edition of Blass.

. . . . .

Αθη]ναιοι και προ]σηκον ισως  
 ως κατ ε]κεινους τους χρον[ους ειχε  
 τα πρα]γματα αναμνησ[αι ινα  
 προς τον] [[παροντα]] ὑπαρχο[ντα και  
 5 ρον εκα]στα θεωρητ[[αι]] το[ν γαρ Φωκι  
 κου συν]σταντος πολεμ[ου ου δι ε  
 με ου γαρ] εγωγε επολιτευ[ομην πω  
 τότε πρωτον μεν υμ]εις ο[υτω διε  
 [κεισθε ωστε Φωκεας μεν βουλε]  
 10 σθαι σω]θηναι κα[ιπερ ου δικαια ποι  
 ουντα]ς ορωντες [Θηβαιοις δε ο  
 τιουν αν] εφησθηναι πα[θουσιν  
 ουκ αλογω]ς [ο]νδ αδικως α[υτοις οργι  
 ζομενοι ο]ις γαρ ευτυχηκε[σαν εν  
 15 Δευκτρο]ις [ο]ν μετριως εκε[χρηντο ε  
 πειτα η Πε]λ[ο]πονησος απ[ασα δι  
 ειστηκει] και ουθ ο[ι] μισου[ντες  
 Λακεδα]ιμονιους ἰσχυον [ουτως  
 ωστε α]νελειν αυτους ου[θ οι προ  
 20 τερον δ]ι εκεινων αρχον[τες κυ  
 ριοι των] πολεων ησαν· α[λλα τις  
 ην ακρι]τος και παρα τουτο[ις . . . .  
 . . . ερι]ς και ταραχη· ταυ[τα δε ο  
 ρων ο Φιλ]ιππος ου γαρ ην α[φανη  
 25 τοις παρ] εκαστοις προδοτα[ις χρη  
 ματα αν]αλίσκων παντας [  
 Ε]λλησι<sup>ω</sup> αν

3. ὑμᾶς, which Bl(ass) omits after ἀναμνήσαι with SL, may have stood in the papyrus.

4. παροντα which was first written was a mere slip.

5. The correction is probably by a second hand.

8. The papyrus most likely had either *τοτε* or *ποτε*, like the other MSS. [τότε] Bl.

14. *ευτυχηκε[σαν: η̅τυχήκεσαν* Bl.

18. *ισχυον [ουτως: ο̅υτως ἰσχυον* MSS.

22-3. The usual reading here is *καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἔρις*, but some MSS. (including FYQO) omit *παρά*, O adding *ἑλλησιν* after *ἅπασιν*, which is noticed as a variant also in FQ. It is manifest that none of these readings suits the papyrus, for only six or seven letters are required between *τουτο[is* and *ερι]s*. *και πα|σιν* or *απα|σιν* might be read, or we may suppose that the scribe was led by the homoioteleuton of *τούτοις* and *ἄλλοις* to write simply *τούτοις απα|σιν*. The entry at the bottom of the column (probably by a second hand), where O's variant *Ε]λλησι* is followed by *ανω* (cf. e.g. 223. 126), evidently refers to this passage; but how much, if anything, stood before *Ε]λλησι* cannot of course be determined. In l. 23 l. *ταραχή*.

### 701. DEMOSTHENES, *Contra Timocratem*.

15.7 × 14.6 cm.

Parts of three rather short and narrow columns (about 16 × 5 cm.), covering pp. 720-1 of Demosthenes' speech against Timocrates. Of the first and third columns only a few letters remain, but the lower portion of the intervening one is complete. The text, which is written in handsome round uncials (cf. 661, Plate v), probably of the end of the second century or of the first half of the third, seems, so far as can be judged, to be a fairly good one.

#### Col. i.

το]υς εν  
[δεκα εις το δ]ικαστη

[ριον τριακον]θ η  
[μερων αφ ης α]ν

#### Col. ii.

5 η αποτ[[ε]]ισα[ι εαν  
δε αργυριο[ν τιμη  
θηι δεδεσθω τε  
ως αν εκτισηι ο τι  
αν αυτου καταγνω

15 εαν δε αργυριου τι  
μηθηι δεδεσθω  
τεως αν εκτ[[ε]]ισηι.  
πεπαυσο εστιν  
ουν οπως εναν

10 σθηι ακουετε ω

ανδρες δικασται λε

γε αυτοις αυτο του

το παλιν

νομο̄ς

20 τιωτερα τις δυο

θειη του δεδεσθαι

τεως αν εκτ[ε]ισω

σιν τους αλοντας

Col. iii.

ε[ναντια αυτος

25 α[υτω νομοθετειν

η[ξιωσεν ουδε τοις

α[λλοις των νο

μ[ων εωντων εμοι

μ[εν γαρ εινεκα αν

30 α[ιδειας ο τοιου

τ[ος δοκει παν

α[ν ετοιμως ερ

γ[ον ποιησαι ωσπερ

το[ινυν ω ανδρες

35 Α[θηναιοι των πε

ρι [ταλλα

3. The length of the line indicates that εντος was omitted before τριακον]θ, as in A; so Bl(ass).

7. τεως: so Bl. with B; τε εως SA. Cf. ll. 17 and 22, where S has τεως, A τε εως as before.

5. For the deletion of the ε of αποτεισα[ι cf. ll. 17 and 22, and l. 8, where εκτισηι is written. -τεισ- Bl. in all these passages.

19. αν is similarly omitted before εναντιωτερα in A. εναντιώτερ' αν Bl., following a conjecture of Weil.

24-33. The vestiges of the initial letters here are with two or three exceptions too slight for certain recognition, and the arrangement of the lines is therefore insecure. α[ and μ[ in ll. 27-8 are not very satisfactory, more especially the latter, in place of which α or λ would be more suitable. A greater difficulty however arises in l. 32, where the traces would suit ν[ much better than α[. But the division πα|ν is extremely improbable, especially as l. 31 is a short one; moreover the papyrus is rather rubbed, and α can therefore hardly be absolutely excluded, though very doubtful.

702. DEMOSTHENES, *Contra Boeotum*.

13.5 × 6.5 cm.

A small fragment from Demosthenes' oration against Boeotus, pp. 1023-4, written in good-sized uncials which on the whole approximate to the square



type, though E and C have a tendency to become narrow, and which we should ascribe to the second century, and perhaps the earlier part of it. The text has no variants of importance.

θη και [τ]αυτα λεγ[ω  
εκ τουτων των μ[αρ  
τυριω[ν] εισεσθε

μα[ρ]τυριαι  
5 τοσαυτα τοινυν [ε  
μου ελ[α]πτουμεν[ου  
φανερως ουτοσι [   
νυν σχ[ε]τλιαζων [και

δεινοπαθων τη[ν  
10 προικα μου της μ[η  
τρος αποστερησε[ι

αλλ υμεις ω αν[δρες p. 1024  
δικασ[τα]ι προ[s Διος  
κα[ι θεω]ν μη κ[ατα  
15 [πλαγητε] υπο τ[ης

7. ουτοσι: so MSS.; οἷτος Bl(ass).

8. νυν: so Bl. with S, &c.; νυνί FQ.

9. τη[ν]: so FQ; καὶ τήν Bl. with S, &c.

10. μου: so r; με Bl. with S, &c.

### 703. AESCHINES, *In Ctesiphontem*.

9 x 9 cm.

This small fragment, containing parts of §§ 94 and 96 of Aeschines' speech against Ctesiphon, belongs to what must have been an exceptionally interesting text, for in spite of its insignificant size it has three new readings, all of which are or may be improvements. The handwriting is in oval sloping uncial of the usual third century type. High stops and a paragraphus occur.

Col. i.

. . . . .  
]ν  
]  
]  
]  
5 ]

Col. ii.

. . . . .  
10 [αλλο]υ[ς] τ[ω]ν [Ε]λλην[ων  
ους βουλεσθαι [κ]οινων[ειν  
της συνταξεως· ωστ[ε  
ουτε χρηματων ου[τε  
στρατιωτ[ω]ν απορια[ν  
15 εσεσθαι· και ταυτα μεν  
δη τα φανερα· εφη δ[ε

Ωρεο]ν [συν]	και π[ραξεις πραττειν
[ταξεις και τας] εξ Ερετρι	ετερα[ς δι απορρητων
[ας τα δεκα ταλ]αντα ζων	και το[υτων ειναι τινας
[των ]	20 μαρτ[υρας
. . . . .	2 lines lost
	ρε[καλει

8. ζων[των: the MSS. have δρώντων φρονούντων βλέπόντων. Whether the papyrus inserted ζώντων before δρώντων or had ζώντων in place of one of the other three verbs (probably δρώντων) cannot be determined. ζώντων makes a more forcible prelude than δρώντων to φρονούντων βλέπόντων.

14-5. απορια[ν] εσεσθαι: εσεσθαι απορίαν Bl. with MSS. The papyrus reading avoids a hiatus.

16. δη: om. MSS., Bl. The insertion of δη is an improvement.

#### 704. ISOCRATES, *Contra Sophistas*.

7.9 × 10.3 cm.

Parts of two columns containing portions of §§ 16-18 of Isocrates' oration (xiii) against the sophists, written in sloping oval uncials of the usual third century type. The text contains no striking variants.

Col. i.		Col. ii.
. . . . .		
[προελεσθ]αι και	§ 16	
[μιξασθαι προς αλ]		
[ληλας] και ταξα		. . . . .
[σθ]αι κατα τροπον		των διδασκων
5 ετι δε των καιρων		παραλ[ιπειν περι
μη διαμαρτειν αλ		δε των λ[οιπων
[λα] και τοις ενθυμ[η		τοιουτο[ν αυτον
μασ[ι π]ρεποντως	20	παραδει[γμα παρα
ολο[ν] τον λογον κα		σχειν ωστ[ε τους
10 τα[π]ο[ι]κειλαι κα[ι		§ 18
τοις ονομασιν ευ		εκτυπωθ[εντας και
		μιμησε[σθαι δυ

ρυθμως κ[αι μ]ουσι		νηθεντα[ς ευθυς
[κ]ως ειπειν ταυτα	§ 17	25 ανθηρ[οτερον τι?
δε πολλης επιμε		και χ[αριστερον
15 [λεια]ς [δεις]θαι και		τω[ν αλλων φαι
. . . . .		. . . . .

2. [μιξασθαι: so ΓΔ (first hand) ΕΘ; Bl. follows Plan. and Δ (corr.) in reading μίξαι, which is too short to suit the papyrus. Cf. the next note.

3-4. ταξα[σθ]αι: so ΓΔΕΘ; τάξαι Bl.

23. μιμησε[σθαι: μιμήσασθαι Bl. with ΓΔΕΘ; μιμείσθαι vulgo. The papyrus reading is an error for μιμήσασθαι.

δυ]νηθεντα[ς: so in the Antidosis of E and vulgo; δυναμένους Bl. with all the best MSS.

25. ανθηροτερον by itself is not sufficient to fill up this line; τε or τι, which is not found in the MSS., may be inserted.

#### IV. DOCUMENTS, CHIEFLY OF THE ROMAN PERIOD.

##### (a) OFFICIAL.

##### 705. TWO PETITIONS TO THE EMPERORS WITH REPLIES.

21.2 X 46 cm.

A.D. 200-2.

A generous effort to lighten some of the burdens which weighed upon the unfortunate Egyptians in the Roman period is recorded in these copies of two petitions to Septimius Severus and Caracalla, to which the Emperors' replies are, as usual, prefixed instead of being appended. The document, which is written in a rude uncial hand on the verso of 740, contained four columns, but of these the first and last are too incomplete to have any value. A mention of the praefect Laetus in l. 40 fixes the date within the years 200-2.

The writer of both petitions is Aurelius Horion, who had held high offices at Alexandria and was a rich landowner in the Oxyrhynchite nome; his object



in both cases was to secure the Imperial guarantee that certain benefactions which he proposed to found in that district would be permanently maintained. In the first petition (ll. 15-53) it is Oxyrhynchus itself which is to be the recipient of his favour, and the earlier part of the letter, as far as l. 42, is devoted to an interesting sketch of the claims which that city possessed upon the Imperial consideration. After the lengthy introduction (ll. 15-21), which can be restored on the analogy of ll. 65-8, and nine mutilated lines, Aurelius Horion reminds the Emperors (ll. 31-5) of 'the loyalty, fidelity, and friendship towards the Romans which the Oxyrhynchites had displayed both by helping them in the war against the Jews, and continuing up to the present to celebrate the day of victory by an annual festival.' This war refers to some Jewish rising in Egypt which perhaps took place not long before the date of the letter, like the Jewish rebellion in the reign of Hadrian mentioned in B. G. U. 889; but it would seem from the use of the word *πόλεμος* to have been on a larger scale than the revolt in Hadrian's time. Aurelius Horion's next argument (ll. 36-9) is 'Moreover, you yourselves honoured the Oxyrhynchites when you visited the country, by allowing them to enter your judgement-seat first after the Pelusiots.' This well illustrates the importance which Oxyrhynchus had attained by A.D. 200, when it was one of the chief towns in Egypt, and already ranked above Memphis. Thirdly (ll. 39-42), Aurelius Horion appeals to the opinion of the city held by the praefect, Laetus, who will, he says, bear evidence in its favour. After these preliminaries the writer comes to his scheme (ll. 42-51). Owing to the imperfect condition of ll. 42-6 the details are not quite clear, but apparently Aurelius Horion proposed to devote, nominally in the form of a loan, a large sum of money which was to be invested, and of which the interest was to be expended upon maintaining the annual contests of ephebi at Oxyrhynchus upon the same scale of splendour as that of similar contests elsewhere, perhaps at Antinoë (cf. l. 50, note). The petition concludes (ll. 51-3) with the request that the Emperors will give orders forbidding the diversion of the benefaction to any other purpose than that intended by its founder. The answer of the Emperors (ll. 1-14) is for the most part lost, but that it was of a favourable character is made certain by direct references to it in their answer to the second petition (cf. l. 59 *καὶ ταύτης, 61 τ[ὸ] ὁμοιον δὴ καὶ ἐ[π]ὶ τούτου φυλαχθήσεται*). It is pleasing to know that Oxyrhynchus enjoyed the fruits of Aurelius Horion's generosity for more than a century; for in 60, written in A.D. 323, we find the logistes, unmindful of the clash of empires, quietly issuing a notice that the gymnastic display by the ephebi will take place on the following day.

The second petition (ll. 65-90) is practically complete, so far as it goes, and

deals with a plan for benefiting certain villages in the Oxyrhynchite nome, the inhabitants of which had been so exhausted by the annual *λειτουργίαι* in the form of contributions to the State and compulsory obligations to act as guards that there was a prospect of the land being deserted. Aurelius Horion therefore proposed to present each village with a sum of money to be invested in hay, the yearly revenue being devoted to the assistance of the inhabitants on whom the *λειτουργίαι* fell. To this the Emperors reply (ll. 54-63), signifying their approval of this scheme as of the former one, and guaranteeing the continuance of the benefaction.

## Col. i.

- [*Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λούκιος Σ*]επτίμ[ι]ο[ς]  
 [*Σεουήρος Εὐσεβῆς Περτίναξ Σ*]εβαστὸς  
 [*Ἀραβικὸς Ἀδιαβηνικὸς Πα*]ρ[θικ]ὸς  
 [*Μέγιστος καὶ Αὐτ*]οκράτωρ *Κ*[αῖ]σαρ  
 5 [*Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀν*]τωνῖνος *Εὐ*[σ]εβῆς  
 [*Σεβαστὸς* ]  
 [*Αὐρηλίῳ Ὡρεῖῳ*]νι χαίρειν.  
 [ 15 letters ] . ηχα[. . . .] ἐπεδο-  
 [ 13 „ τῶ]ν Ὀξυρυγχειτῶν [.]οσ-  
 10 [ 16 „ ]αντιμα . . . αγ . [.]ν  
 [ 16 „ ]α . . [.]ετ . . . . [.]λ[. .]  
 [ 15 „ ]μας εἰς τ[. . . . .]ν  
 [ 15 „ ]τιασι . [. . . . .]ν  
 [ 15 „ ] . ἔστιν [δὲ ἡ ἀ]ξι[ωσις]  
 15 [*τοῖς εὐμενεστάτοις Αὐτ*]οκράτορσιν [*Σ*]εο[υ]ήρῳ  
 [*καὶ Ἀντωνίνῳ τοῖς*] πάν[τ]ων [ἀ]νθρώπων  
 [*σωτηήρσι καὶ εὐερ*]γέταις *Αὐρήλιος*  
 [*Ὡρείων γενόμε*]νος στρατηγὸς καὶ ἀρχι-  
 [*δικαστῆς τῆς λαμ*]προτάτης πόλ[ε]ως τῶν  
 20 [*Ἀλεξανδρέων*] χαίρειν.  
 [ . . . . ὧ φιλανθρωπ]ότατοι *Αὐτοκράτορες*  
 [ 14 letters ] . ι τ[ῇ] πόλ[ει] μεγάλη  
 [ 14 „ ]ενει καὶ ἔτι [σ]ωζούση  
 [ 13 „ ] . [.]νεαν κατ[ο]ικισεν . . ν  
 25 [ 15 „ ]τιτ[.]στιτ[. . . .]σ

[	15 letters	] . ενωτε[. . . . .]νε
[	15 „	]νδελ . . . [ . . . . . ] . ν
[	14 „	]δον . [.] . μ[. . . . .]ε[.] . σ

## Col. ii.

- α[. . . . .]ον καὶ αλ[.]σαμ[.]λων[. . . . .]  
 30 . . . [.] π[λ]είω ὦν ὁ [λ]όγος ἐμὲ τ[. . . λ]ανθά[νει,]  
 πρ[ό]σε[στ]ι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους εὐ[οι-]  
 ἀ τε καὶ πίστις καὶ φιλία ἦν ἐνεδείξαντο καὶ  
 κατὰ τὸν πρὸς Εἰουδαίους πόλεμον συμμαχή-  
 σαντες καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν τὴν τῶν ἐπινεικίων  
 35 ἡμέραν ἐκάστου ἔτους πανηγυρίζοντας.  
 ἔτειμήσατε μὲν οὖν καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτοὺς ἐπιδη-  
 μήσ[αν]τες τῷ ἔθνει πρώτοις μετὰ Πηλου-  
 σιώτας μεταδόντας τῆς εἰς τὸ δ[ικ]αστήριον ὑμῶν  
 εἰσόδου, γνωρίζει δὲ τὴν πόλιν καὶ ὁ λαμπ[ρότα-]  
 40 τος Λαῖτος ἐπὶ τε τοῖς καλλίστοις καὶ ἐλε[υθερω-]  
 τάτους ἔχουσιν τοὺς ἐνοικο[ῦν]τας καὶ π[. . . . .]  
 μειο[.] ἐπεικεστάτους. διαδ[ 13 letters  
 τὴν πόλιν ἠθέλησα μηδε[ 13 „  
 τῶν] ἡμετέρων καταλιπε[ 13 „  
 45 τρη[.]άμην καὶ τοὺς ὑπυσμ[ 13 „  
 οὐκ [ἐ]λ[α]ττον Ἀττικῶν μυρι[. . . .]ι των[. . . . .]  
 τας δανείζεσθαί τε καὶ φυλ[άσσε]σθαι καθὰ ἐπ[ὶ]  
 τῶν προτέρων ὥριστα, τὸν δὲ σ[υ]ναγόμενον  
 τ[ό]κον χωρεῖν εἰς ἑπαθλα ἐφήβων τῶν παρ' αὐ-  
 50 τ[ο]ῦ[ς] κατ' ἔτος ἀγωνιουμένων ἐφ' οἷς καὶ οἱ Ἀγ-  
 τ[ι]ν[οῖς] γῆν ἀγωνίζοντε. καὶ ἀξιῶ κελεῦ[σαι] ὑμᾶς  
 καὶ τ[α]υτ[α] τὰ χρήματα μηδενὶ ἐξείν[α]ι εἰς ἄλ-  
 λ[ο] μηδὲν πε[ρ]ισπᾶν.

32. πιστ Of πιστις corr.  
θερω]τάτοις.

41. υσαν Of εχουσιν above ντας erased.

35. l. πᾶνηγυρίζοντες.

38. l. μεταδόντες.

45. ὑπ Pap.

40. l. ἐλε[υ-]  
51. l. ἀγωνίζονται.



## Col. iii.

- Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Α[ο]ύκιος [Σ]επτίμ[ιος Σ]ε[ου]ήρος  
 55 Εὐσεβ[ή]ς Περτίναξ Σεβαστὸς Ἀραβικοῦ Ἀδιαβηνικὸς  
 Παρθικοῦ Μεγίσ[το]ν [κ]αὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ  
 Μάρκο[ς] Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνῖνος Εὐσεβ[ή]ς Σεβαστὸς  
 Αὐρηλίῳ Ὡρείων χαίρειν.  
 ἀποδεχόμεθα σε καὶ ταύτης τῆς ἐπιδόσεως ἣν  
 60 ἀξιοῖς ἐπιδοῦναι ταῖς κώμαις τῶν Ὁξυρυγχείτων  
 ἀποδιδούς ἀμοιβὴν ἐνκτήσεως. τ[δ] ὁμοιον δὴ καὶ  
 ἐ[π]ὶ τούτου φυλαχθήσεται καὶ καθότ[ι ἡ]θέλησας ἀμε-  
 τάστρεπτον εἰς ἕτερόν τι δαπανήσ[εσ]θαι τὴν χάριν.  
 ἔστιν δὲ ἡ ἀξίωσις.  
 65 τοῖς εὐμενεστάτοις Αὐτοκράτ[ο]ρσι Σε[ου]ήρῳ καὶ Ἀντωνίνῳ  
 τοῖς πάντων ἀνθρώπων σωτήρσιν [κ]αὶ εὐεργέταις  
 Αὐρήλιος Ὡρείων γενόμενος στρατη[γ]ὸς καὶ ἀρχιδικασ-  
 τῆς τῆς λαμ[π]ροτάτης πόλεως τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων χαίρειν.  
 κῶμαί τινες τοῦ Ὁξυρυγχείτου νομοῦ, ᾧ φιλανθρωπότα-  
 70 τοι Αὐτοκράτορες, ἐν αἷς ἐγὼ τε (καὶ) οἱ υἱοί μου χωρία κεκτήμε-  
 θα σφ[δ]ῶρα ἐξησθένησαν ἐνοχλούμεναι ὑπὸ τῶν κατ' ἔτος  
 λειτουργιῶν τοῦ τε ταμείου καὶ τῆς παρα[φ]υ[λ]ακῆς τῶν  
 τόπων, κινδυνεύουσί τε τῷ μὲν ταμείῳ παραπολέ-  
 σθαι τὴν δὲ ὑμετέραν γῆν ἀγεώργητον καταλιπεῖν.  
 75 ἐγὼ [ο]ὔν καὶ τοῦ φιλανθρώπου καὶ τοῦ χρησίμου στοχα-  
 ζ[όμε]νος βούλομαι εἰς ἀνάκτησιν αὐτῶν ἐπίδοσίν  
 τ[ινα] βραχεῖαν ἐκάστη ποιήσασθαι εἰς συνωνήν  
 χ[όρτ]ου οὗ ἡ πρόσδοδος κατατεθήσεται εἰς τροφὰς καὶ  
 δ[απά]νας τῶν κατ' ἔτος λειτουργησόντων ἐπὶ τῷ

55. ξ σεβαστος inserted later, τος being above the line. 1. Ἀραβικός. s of αδιαβηνικός  
 corr. from υ. 56. 1. Παρθικὸς Μέγισ[το]ς. 57. Final s of εὐσεβ[ή]ς inserted above the  
 line. 70. υἱοι Pap. 74. 1. ἡμετέραν(?).

## Col. iv.

- (80) lost, (81) . [, (82) λ[, (83) τ[, (84) τα[, (85) βο . [, (86) επ[, (87) ναι . [,  
 (88) μητ[, (89) τοχ[, (90) φ . . [

8. The first word probably was or corresponded to ἀποδεχόμεθα; cf. l. 59.

20. The position of χαίρειν after, instead of before, the nominative (cf. l. 68), is unusual.

42. Perhaps διὰ δὲ ταῦτα.

46. οὐκ ἔλαττον Ἀττικῶν μυρίων would refer to the sum which Aurelius Horion proposed to spend, but if τάλαντων is supplied at the end of l. 45 (it cannot come in l. 46) the amount seems enormous. Possibly Ἀττικῶν is masculine and should be separated from μυρίων.

47. δανείζεσθαι: the benefaction apparently took the form of a loan to the city, but since the interest was devoted to public purposes, it was to all intents a gift; cf. the similar case in ll. 76-8.

50. Ἀντ[ι]ν[οῖς] νῦν is very doubtful, though a proper name would be expected. The ν at the end of l. 50 is fairly certain, the only alternative being γο, but the second ν could equally well be ι. For ννν, εων can be read.

54-79. 'The Emperor Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus Maximus and the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Augustus to Aurelius Horion, greeting. We approve of this benefaction also which you request leave to confèr upon the villages of the Oxyrhynchite nome, giving (to different persons) a succession in the enjoyment of it(?). The same rule shall be observed in this case also, and, as you wish, no change shall be introduced which would divert the gift to any other purpose.

'The request is as follows:—

'To the most gracious Emperors, Severus and Antoninus, the saviours and benefactors of the world, Aurelius Horion, formerly strategus and archidicastes of the most illustrious city of Alexandria, greeting. Certain villages in the Oxyrhynchite nome, most humane Emperors, in which both I and my sons own estates, are utterly exhausted by the burdensome demands of the annual λειτουργίαι required both for the Treasury and the protection of the districts, and there is a danger of their being ruined as far as the Treasury is concerned and leaving our (?) land uncultivated. Accordingly having before me a both humane and useful object I wish, in order that they may recover, to make a trifling benefaction to each one for the purchase of hay, the revenue of which shall be devoted to the maintenance and support of those who are annually subject to the λειτουργίαι on condition that . . . .'

61. ἀμοιβὴν ἐνκτήσεως no doubt refers to something which was explained more fully in ll. 80 sqq., and owing to the loss of these the meaning is uncertain. We have supposed the sense to be that the inhabitants would enjoy the fruit of the benefaction successively as they were called upon to undertake the λειτουργίαι.

62-3. ἀμετάστρεπτον εἰς ἕτερον κ.τ.λ.: two ideas seem to be confused, (1) the gift is to be ἀμετάστρεπτον, (2) it is forbidden (sc. μὴ ἔξεσται) to spend it on other purposes.

74. ὑμετέραν may be right, referring to βασιλική or οὐσιακὴ γῆ; but since the scribe is not very accurate, and Aurelius Horion has mentioned his own land in l. 70, the correction ἡμετέραν is more probable.

77. εἰς συνωνήν χ[όρτ]ον: cf. 507. 24. The details of the scheme are somewhat obscure, but it is clear that the benefaction would extend over a series of years, and unless the ἐπίδοσις was an annual present (in which case the necessity for having an Imperial guarantee for its continuance seems pointless), it must have been a capital sum of money which produced a yearly revenue; cf. the first petition, especially ll. 48-9. Apparently the revenue of the ἐπίδοσις was to be assigned to the different villages, i.e. placed in charge

of the chief men, and invested in hay, the profits from the sale of which were to be assigned to the persons who in any year were burdened with *λειτουργίαι*. Why Aurelius Horion selected this particular form for his benefaction we cannot say; but 507 suggests that good profits were to be made out of hay, presumably by buying it cheap and selling it dear.

### 706. REPORT OF LEGAL PROCEEDINGS.

16.6 x 10.8 cm.

About A.D. 115.

Conclusion of a report of a case tried before M. Rutilius Lupus, praefect in A.D. 114-7. The litigants were Damarion, apparently a freedman, and his patron Heraclides; but owing to the mutilation of the papyrus the precise nature of the question at issue is not clear. Damarion asserted that Heraclides had accepted from him a sum of money in settlement of all claims, but the praefect nevertheless gave an entirely adverse judgement, and threatened to have him beaten if further complaints were made. The most interesting point is the opposition between the native Egyptian law and the *ἀστικοὶ νόμοι*, i.e. the law of Alexandria, which conferred certain powers upon the patrons of liberated slaves in relation to the slaves so liberated, and upon which the decision of the praefect is based. No doubt Heraclides was an Alexandrian citizen.

- . . . . .
- [ 11 letters ] παρ' Αἰγυπτίῳ[ς 18 letters  
 [τοὺς ἀπελευθ]έρουσ τοῖς πάτρῳσι, τὸν δὲ Ἑρα[κ]λείδην  
 [. . . . . ἀπειλη]φέναι παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀργύριον καὶ γεγρα-  
 [φέναι χειρόγρ]αφον περὶ τοῦ μηδὲν ἔξειν πρᾶγμα  
 5 [πρὸς αὐτόν, κα]ὶ ἀναγνόντος τὸ χειρόγραφον Λοῦπος  
 [βουλευσάμενο]ς μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἀπεφήνατο οὕτως·  
 [ἑν μὲν τοῖς τῶν] Αἰγυπτίων νόμοις οὐδὲν περὶ τῆς  
 [ 14 letters ] ης ἐξουσίας τῶν ἀπελευθερωσάντων  
 [ 15 „ ] ἀ[κο]λούθῳ τοῖς ἀστικοῖς νόμοις  
 10 [ 12 „ Δαμαρί]ωνα Ἑρακλείδῃ τῷ πάτρῳνι  
 [ 10 „ κ]ατὰ τὸν νόμον. καὶ τῷ Δαμαρίωνι εἶπεν·  
 [ 11 „ ]ου καὶ προστίθῃμι ἐάν σε μέμψῃται  
 [ 9 „ ξυ]λοκοπηθῇναί σε κελεύσω.



6. βουλευσάμενο]ς κ.τ.λ.: cf. e.g. P. Catt. iv. 12, 19, and P. Goodsp. 29. iii. 1, where read Λιβερῶν[ις (?) λαλήσας.

9. τοῖς ἀστικοῖς νόμοις: cf. the common use of ἀστός and ἀσθή to designate citizens of Alexandria, e.g. 271. 3, 477. 14. That Alexandrians enjoyed certain privileges, especially with regard to taxation, is well-known, but the present seems to be the first direct reference to a peculiar code of law. Lumbroso had indeed already inferred (*l'Egitto*, p. 65) from the distinction drawn between citizens of Alexandria and others in the matter of corporal punishment (Philo, *in Flac.* c. 10) that there were also differences of law and procedure; and this view now finds ample confirmation. Cf. the contrast in the Ptolemaic period between the πολιτικοὶ νόμοι (i.e. laws particularly affecting the Greeks, P. Tebt. I. p. 58) and the τῆς χώρας νόμος in P. Taur. 1. iv. 17 and vii. 9.

13. ξυ]λοκοπηθῆναι: cf. 653 εἰ μὴ ποιήσης οὐ μόνον κατακριθήσῃ ἀλλὰ καὶ δαρήσ[ῃ. Perhaps Ἡρακλείδης is to be supplied at the beginning of the line, though this would place Damarion entirely at his opponent's mercy.

### 707. REPORT OF LEGAL PROCEEDINGS.

26 × 31.5 cm.

About A.D. 136.

What remains of this account of a trial before some magistrate—the particular court is not specified—consists chiefly of the opening speech of the counsel for the plaintiff Plutarchus. The prime cause of the dispute was the failure of one of the defendants, Philinus, to fulfil the terms of a contract, a copy of which is prefixed (Col. i), made by him with a woman named Demetria for the lease of a vineyard and orchard. Philinus had undertaken to carry out certain improvements, in consideration of which he had received from Demetria a sum of 2000 drachmae. The promised improvements, however, were not effected; and the obligations of Philinus were subsequently taken over by his brother Antistius. At the expiration of the term of the lease the land seems to have been let to a new tenant, the plaintiff Plutarchus (cf. note on ll. 15–7); but the papyrus breaks off before the relation of the latter to the two brothers or the occasion of the present dispute are elucidated.

This document is on the verso of the papyrus. The recto is occupied with three columns of a survey of different pieces of land, written probably early in the second century. Mention is made of ψιλ(οὶ) τόπ(οι) ἐν οἷ[s] κέλλαι ἐμπ(οιού-μεναι ?) ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων and of τόπ(οι) ἱερατικοί.

Col. i.

. . . . .

]ρνῆ[ . .

]ν δημοσίων καὶ



γίνεται τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Φιλείνου [A]νθέστιος πάντων τῶν		
35 διὰ τῆς μ[ι]σθώσε[ως] ἀνειλημ[μέ]νων καὶ ἔσχε αὐτὸς τὰ συν-		
γεγραμμένα α[. . . .] . . γ . αλ[. . .] γῆ μὴ ἀναχθεῖσα ἀμπέλω		
ἄχρι τούτου δ[	13 letters	]ημ . . ας δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἐποικίου
καὶ ἐτ[ε]ρ	16 "	δ] ἀντιτεταγμένος καὶ . . [ . .
ουκολ[	18 "	]ατος καὶ δραχμὰ[ς . . . . .
40 κοσία[ς	16 "	μ]ενας ὑπὸ τινος γε[. . . . .
Δημη[τρ]ία	15 "	]απ[. . . . .]ν απ[. . . . .
αὐτὸν τ[	17 "	] . δη[
λως . [		
τῷ κ (ἔτει) [		
. . . . .		

9. κα of κατα written above πα. 17. l. νεώτερος. μ of αντιτετ[α]γμε corr. from λ ?  
 22. αι of τελεσαι written above η. 27. In the left margin against this line is an oblique dash.  
 36. α of αλ[ corr. and λ above the line over a deleted letter.

Col. ii. 'Plutarchus son of . . . against Philinus and Antistius, both sons of . . . , of Oxyrhynchus. Sarapion, advocate for Plutarchus, said :—My client Plutarchus leased from Demetria a property in the Oxyrhynchite nome following upon (?) a lease previously made with Demetria by Philinus, the younger of our opponents, who rented from her for 6 years from the 14th year of Hadrianus Caesar the lord a vineyard and orchard at the village of Seruphis in accordance with a written agreement, in which it was stated that in the first four years he should be charged no rent but only pay the taxes on condition of his planting vines over the whole of the open space in the vineyard, that for the remaining two years he should pay the rent set forth in the lease, that he should restore on a certain scale the walls (?) of the vineyard and orchard, and on receiving from Demetria 2000 drachmae should build on a fixed scale a new wheel of baked brick. It appears that having taken the 2000 drachmae, he did not make the wheel according to the stated scale, but left it uncompleted and entirely neglected the vineyard, not even putting up the walls round it. In these circumstances in the 19th year of Hadrianus Caesar the lord Antistius became surety on behalf of his brother Philinus for all the obligations of the lease and himself took over . . .'

4. ἔκτακτα: cf. 646 ἃ ἔσται καὶ ἔκτακτον τοῦ . . . ἀφ' ἡλικός.

8-9. The value of the two pairs of βόες, 460 drachmae, was apparently included in the 2000 drachmae received by Philinus from Demetria (cf. ll. 26-9), and l. 9 is probably to be restored τιμὴ ὧν ἔχω παρὰ τῆς Δημητρίας ζευ(γῶν) β βοῶν (δραχμαὶ) υξ. Cf. 729. 39 sqq., where βόες are a good deal more expensive. καταθη might perhaps be read τὰ καθή[κοντα] (?), the κα being above the line.

10. σύμφυτα: cf. 729. 22. ἔμφορος is otherwise known only from Hesychius, ἔμφορα· προβεβλημένα· ἀγέλη προβάτων, where commentators have supposed some corruption.

15-7. The restoration of these lines, which involve the relations of Plutarchus to Demetria and the brothers, is a doubtful matter. If Δημητρία is made the subject of προπεποιήται, the nominatives ὁ νεώτερος . . . μισθωσάμενος, are left suspended. We are



therefore inclined to read Δημητρία, connecting ὁ νεώτερος with προπεποιήται, and suggest ὑπαρξιν [ἀρουρῶν . . . . ἐξ ἧς τῇ αὐτῇ] (or σὺν τῇ) Δημητρία προπεποιήται τοῖς [ἐμπροσθεν χρόνοις μισθ]ώσεω[ς], κ.τ.λ. περὶ τὸν Ὁξυρυγχείτην is unusual; ἐν τῷ Ὁ. would be expected.

23. διάψειλον γῆν: this phrase, which here occurs for the first time, throws light upon two passages in the B. G. U. which have hitherto remained unexplained (cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 404). These are entries in two very closely related taxing-lists from Socnopaei Nesus, B. G. U. 10. 8 ψυγμοῦ καὶ διαψείλου (or -ων) (ἀρουρῶν) νδ and 277. ii. 5 διαψυγμάτων καὶ διαψείλων πρὸς ἐλαιῶνι (ἀρουρῶν) νδ, the heading in each case being followed by two or three names. The 54 arourae are evidently the same in both documents, and consisted of a ψυγμός or διαψύγματα (cf. P. Tebt. 86. 45 and 522. 4) and διάπειλα or διάπειλος γῆ, upon which certain payments had to be made by the persons named. How διάπειλος differed from ψιλὴ γῆ, if at all, does not appear. The word is found in Hesychius, ψηνός· ψεδνός, διάπειλος.

25. ἀνειλημμένα: the verb recurs in the same unusual sense in l. 35. B. G. U. 277. ii. 10 οἱ φόροι ἐν οὐσιακῷ λόγῳ ἀναλαμβάνονται is hardly parallel.

26. πωμαρίου is of course the Latin *romarium*. The use of πλάτας here is strange. The word πλάτας or πλάτης occurs in several inscriptions from Aphrodisias (e. g. C. I. G. 2824; cf. Boeckh's remarks *ad loc.*) meaning apparently the substructure of a funerary monument. Here the πλάται seem to be surrounding walls; cf. l. 32 τὰς πλάτας περιβεβληκέναι.

37. Apparently not ]ημενας. The supposed δ of δέ is more like α.

## 708. TWO LETTERS TO A STRATEGUS.

19.2 × 9.7 cm.

A. D. 188.

The recto of this papyrus contains part of an account of corn, very large amounts in artabae (e. g. 168, 486  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{48}$ ) being mentioned, as well as the κ]ατασπ(ορὰ) κθ (ἔτους), which refers to the reign of Commodus more probably than to that of Caracalla. On the verso are copies of two letters from Antonius Aelianus, a high official whose rank is not stated, but who was probably epistrategus or dioecetes, to the strategus of the Diospolite nome in the Thebaid, stating that two ship-loads of wheat from that nome had on examination proved to be adulterated with barley and earth, and ordering the strategus to exact the deficiency from the sitologi responsible for it. From a mention of a chiliarch in l. 13 it appears that the corn was required for military purposes. The first letter, which is practically complete, is dated in the 29th year, probably of the reign of Commodus. The second follows the same formula, so far as it goes.

[ ]κ

[Ἀν]τώνιος Αἰλιανὸς στρα(τηγῷ) Διοπ(ολίτου) Θηβ(αίδος) χα(ίρειν).

[τοῦ] καταχθέντος γόμου ἐκ τοῦ ὑπὸ σοὶ νομοῦ



## 709. TOUR OF INSPECTION.

14.7 x 11.5 cm.

About A.D. 50.

This fragment of a letter gives some important geographical information about Egypt in the first century. It describes a tour of inspection throughout the country about to be taken by a high official, probably the praefect or *δικαιοδότης*. Starting from a place which is not mentioned (Alexandria?), he was to go first to Pelusium, thence through the nomes situated along the eastern side of the Delta, the Tanite and Sethroite, Arabia, and another nome, not previously found in Greek (l. 6, note), to Memphis. Next he was to travel direct to the Thebaid, and come back through the Heptanomis, the Arsinoite nome, and the other nomes in the Delta which he had not visited on his upward journey, finally reaching Alexandria. The chief point of interest is the mention of the Heptanomis and Arsinoite nome. Wilcken (*Ost. I.* pp. 423-7) attributes the creation of the Heptanomis to the period between A.D. 68, when the edict of Tiberius Alexander seems to be ignorant of its existence, and 130, and adopts the view of Schwarz (*Rhein. Mus.* 1896, p. 637) that the Arsinoite nome originally belonged to the Heptanomis, but was separated from it by Hadrian to make room for the newly-founded Antinoite nome. The papyrus, however, which quite certainly belongs to the first century and yet mentions the Arsinoite nome as distinct from the Heptanomis, disposes of Schwarz's hypothesis altogether, and pushes back the latest possible date of the creation of the Heptanomis far into the first century. The handwriting of the papyrus is by no means of a late first century type, and we should assign it to the reign of Claudius or Nero rather than to that of one of the Flavian emperors. In any case it is now clear, on the one hand, that the Arsinoite nome was on account of its isolated position never reckoned in the Heptanomis, and on the other, that some hitherto unsuspected nome belonged to the Heptanomis before the creation of the *Ἀντινοίτης*. The most probable explanation is that Antinoite was a new name given to a previously existing nome, and that Hadrian only did what Ptolemy Philadelphus had done in the case of the *λιμνή* (Rev. Laws, p. xlix). Strabo, who is a little earlier than the papyrus, does not help; but his list of nomes has not so far accorded very well with the evidence of Ptolemaic and Roman papyri.

. . . . .  
[. . . . .]σιον . [. . .] τὸ λογιστήρι[ον] . . . . .



[διαλο]γισμοῦ ἐστάθη ἵνα τῇ [. . . . .]  
 [. . . . .]ων τὸν ἀνάπλουν ποιήσεται καὶ  
 [. . . . .] εἰς Πηλούσιον ἀπελθὼν διαλο-  
 5 [γίσητ]αι Τανίτην Σεθροίτην Ἀραβίαν  
 [Αὐ]ρίαν, ἐν Μένφει γενόμενος ὁμοίως  
 Θηβαίδαν ἐπτα νομοὺς Ἀρσινοίτην,  
 τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς τῆς κάτω χώρας ν[ομοὺς]  
 εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. ταῦτα δὲ ὦ[. . . . .]  
 10 ἐστάθη εἰς δὲ τὰ λογιστήριά τινα  
 κατ' ἄνδρα πάντων τῶν ἀπ[. . . . .]  
 αἰτοῦ[μ]εθα. λοιπὸν οὖν ε[. . . . .]  
 . [. . . . γ]ραμματεῖς ἄχρι . [. . . . .]  
 [. . . . .] ἄσποροι τῆς δι . ὡτ[. . . . .]  
 15 [. . . . . σ]ταλείσας . [  
 [. . . . .]ταδα . [  
 [. . . . .]ι[

On the verso

Θέωνι δ[

3. Second η of ποιήσεται corr. from α.

6. μ of μενφει corr. from φ.

6. [Αὐ]ρίαν (or possibly [Α]ρίαν) was suggested by Mr. Griffith. It refers to the district called in hieroglyphics *ʿAn* situated on the Eastern side of the Delta (Brugsch, *Dict. Géogr.* p. 119), and known to Pliny (*H. N.* vi. 29) *a sinu Laeanitico* (l. *Aelanitico*) *alter sinus quem Arabes Aean vocant in quo Heroon oppidum est*. Brugsch considers it to have been part of the Memphite nome.

## 710. ORDER FOR PAYMENT.

Fr. (a) 7 × 13.5 cm.

B.C. III.

This papyrus, which is one of the few Ptolemaic documents found at Oxyrhynchus, contained an order, probably addressed to a royal bank by an official, to pay various sums of money to 47 persons. Of these 44 were carrying documents, and they were accompanied by a ὥρογράφος, i.e. a precis-writer, a title not hitherto found on a papyrus, an ἔφοδος who acted as escort, and

a 'camel-man,' this being one of the rare references to the use of camels in the Ptolemaic period. The 7th year mentioned in l. 5 must on palaeographical grounds belong to the reign of Ptolemy Soter II. In Fr. (b) ὥρογράφω, ἐφόδωι or καμηλίτηι is probably to be supplied at the beginnings of ll. 7 and 8.

(a)

. . . . .  
[. . . . .] χρημ[ά]τισ[ον το]ῖς  
ἐν τῶι 'Οξύρυγχίτηι βυβλιαφόροις  
ἀνδράσι μδ ὥρογράφωι α  
ἐφόδωι α καμηλίτηι α, / μζ,  
5 τοῦ Θωὺθ τοῦ ζ (ἔτους) κατὰ

(b)

. . . . .  
] (τάλαντ ) [  
] α (τάλαντον) α [  
] α (τάλαντον) α [  
. . . . .

## 711. CENSUS-LIST.

7 × 18.5 cm.

About B.C. 14.

A fragment from an official statement or list connected with the census and poll-tax. There are parts of two columns, but the first has only the ends of lines (not printed), and the second is, unfortunately, disfigured by lacunae which deprive it of much of its value, though any fresh items of information may be welcomed on the interesting question of the Egyptian census in the early years of Augustus. The existing evidence on the subject was collected in P. Oxy. II. pp. 207-14, where it was shown that the fourteen years' census-cycle could be traced back with security to A.D. 19-20, and with probability to A.D. 5-6 and B.C. 10-9, but no further, although censuses and poll-tax are attested still earlier in Augustus' reign, and now appear from the Tebtunis papyri (103, introd.) to go far back into the first century B.C. The present document mentions certain 'youths' (ἐφηβευκότες) registered (or 'entered') on a poll-tax list by us (the λαογράφοι?) in the 15th year of Caesar, ἐφηβευκότες in this context probably meaning boys above the age of fourteen, when they became liable to the tax in question. Reference is also made to a wrong entry in a previous list of some persons 'as having . . . before the 6th year.' This is too vague to be of much use; but the 6th year (B.C. 25-4) would seem to be a recognized landmark in the history of the census or the poll-tax, and some important step in the reorganization of the system may possibly have then been made. The

6th year, however, does not fall in with the fourteen years' cycle, being one year too early.

On the verso of the papyrus are parts of two columns, written not much later than the recto, of a series of names with some figures opposite, no doubt a taxing-list of some kind, and not improbably also concerned with the poll-tax.

. . . . .  
 ἑκαῃσται . . . [ . . . ] . [ . . . . . ] αῤ[  
 τας ὁμοίως κατὰ τὸ παρὸν . . . [ . . ] μενα . [ . . . ] σ[ . . . ] α.  
 καὶ ἄλλων τῶν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ ιε (ἔτους) Καίσαρος λελα-  
 ογραφημένων ἐπ[ . . . ] φ[ . . ] ὦν ἐφηβευκό<sup>ου</sup> [ τω ] ν ὡς  
 5 καὶ ἐκ παραλογισμ[ οὔ . . . ] . μενος ὡς πρ[ ὃ τ ] οὔ  
 5 (ἔτους) Καίσαρος [ s . . . ] φ[ . . . . . ] των π[ . . ] ῥων ε[ . . . . . ] ν[ . . ]  
 ὁμο[  
 . . . . .

2. τας may be the article and connected with the participle following παρὸν, or the termination of a word in the previous line like τελοῦντας. Cf. P. Tebt. 103. 1-3 λαογρ(αφία) . . . τελοῦ[ ντ ] ὦν σύνταξιν, and τελῶν (so Wilcken) σύνταξιν in P. Grenf. I. 45. 8.

4. ]φ[ is quite doubtful, since all that remains of the letter is part of a long vertical stroke projecting above the lacuna, which might equally well represent e.g. the sign for ἔτος. But it does not seem possible to get either another year or a conjunction into the short space available, and we therefore conclude that λελαογραφημένων and ἐφηβευκότων are to be taken together, with some qualifying term between them; ἐπ' [ ἀμ ] φ[ ὀδ ] ὦν might suit. At the end of the line ὡς with ου written above the ω is difficult; if οὔς was intended the accusative may be governed by ] . μενος in l. 5.

5-6. ὡς πρ[ ὃ τ ] οὔ 5 (ἔτους): cf. similar instances of the use of πρὸ in 257. 25, 481. 15.

## 712. COLLECTION OF A DEBT.

11.5 × 10.3 cm.

Late second century.

The imperfect condition of this papyrus is much to be deplored, for if more complete it would probably have gone far to solve the uncertainties attaching to the functions of that much discussed official, the ξενικῶν πράκτωρ. As it is, the lines being throughout incomplete both at the beginnings and ends, and the amount lost being shown by ll. 12-3 to exceed 40 letters between each line, the papyrus whets our curiosity without satisfying it. There are two documents,



the first written (ll. 9 sqq.) being an application to the overseers of the *ξενικῶν πρακτορία* of the Athribite nome from a member of the Sosicosmian tribe, stating that he had in A.D. 146-7 lent 300 drachmae at interest to two brothers, called Potamon and Pathermouthis, upon the security of some house-property at Monthmereu. Repayment not having been made at the proper time, a writ was served upon the brothers (ll. 16-7), but since this had no effect, the applicant requests the overseers to foreclose upon the house and exact payment (ll. 18-21). In the margin above this application is (ll. 1-7) a letter from the overseers to the keepers of the record office, apparently requesting them to take possession of the property and collect the debt and interest, as well as the miscellaneous charges for collection made by the State. The title, *ἐπιτηρηταὶ ξενικῶν πρακτορίας*, is new, and, since *ἐπιτηρηταί* are generally connected with *ὄναί*, suggests that the profits made by the State from collecting debts were farmed out, like most other revenues. That this was actually the case is proved by 825, an account rendered to the *μισθωταὶ ξενικῶν πρακτορίας* by one of their *πραγματευταί*. By the second century therefore, at any rate, the functions which in the Ptolemaic period and perhaps still in the first century A.D. seem to have been combined in the person of the *ξενικῶν πράκτωρ* (cf. P. Tebt. 5. 221, note, and 286), were divided, and we find side by side the parallel bodies of official *ἐπιτηρηταί* and private *μισθωταί* with subordinate *πραγματευταί*. But while 712 and 825 are a valuable illustration of the second term in the phrase *ξενικῶν πρακτορία*, they throw little light upon the first, in which the main difficulty lies. The explanation of *ξενικῶν* which we offered (ll. cc.) that it means debts contracted by *ξένοι*, i. e. persons living at places outside the district to which they properly belonged, still remains the only one which rests on the evidence of parallels from the use of *ξένος* in papyri, though it is not clear why e.g. in P. Tebt. 5. 221 debts of *ξένοι* should be a subject of legislation and not debts in general. Our hypothesis gains some support from the circumstance—which may be a mere accident, but if so is a very remarkable coincidence—that both 712 and 825 have to do with debts from persons who were not living in the Oxyrhynchite nome. In 712 the *ἐπιτηρηταί* belong to the Athribite nome, but about the property distrained upon the only fact that is certain is that it was not in the Oxyrhynchite nome (*Μωνθμερεύ* and its toparchy, *Νορασείτης*, in l. 20, are both unknown), while the nome to which the officials addressed by the *ἐπιτηρηταί* belonged, as well as that of the writer of the application, is doubtful; cf. notes on ll. 1 and 13. In 825 the *πραγματευτής* was concerned with the Memphite nome, but that the *μισθωταί* belonged to the Oxyrhynchite nome has only a general probability resting on the provenance of the document.

The date of the papyrus is lost, but it was certainly posterior to the 10th

year of Antoninus mentioned in l. 13 (cf. ll. 16-8), and may be as late as the beginning of Commodus' reign; cf. note on l. 7.

καὶ        ων ἐπιτη(ρηταὶ) ξενικ(ῶν) πρα]κτ(ορείας) Ἀθρε[ιβ(ίτου)]  
                  βι[βλ]ιοφύλ(αξιν) ἐ[γκ]τ(ήσεων) [. ]ατο[. ] . [   
                  ]ομῶς παραδείξεως ὑφ' ἣν ἔστιν ε . [   
                  ] κατὰσχετε οὖν πρὸς ἐνεχυρασίαν ἣν παρεῖ[   
 Παθερμούθις καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς] αὐτοῦ Ποτάμων Θανώχιος τοῦ [. ]ξ . ητιος ἀπὸ . [   
 5                    τὴν ὑπ]άρχουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ Παθερ-   
    (μ)ούθι οἰκ[ίαν καὶ αὐλήν]   
    ] ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμὰς) τ καὶ τόκους καὶ τέλη   
                  καὶ δαπ(άνας), πρῶ(τοπραξίας) οὔση(ς) τῷ δη(μοσίῳ) κα[ὶ   
    (ἔτους) . . ] // Παῦνι κ.                    \*   
 2nd hand        καὶ        ων ἐπιτηρηταῖς ξενικῶν πρακτορίας Ἀθρε[ίβιτου]   
                  παρὰ                    ]ωνος τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου Σωσικοσμείου τοῦ καὶ Ἡλ[ι]   
 10                    ]ν χρη[μ]ατισμὸν ἐνεχυρασίας ὧν τὸ ἕτερον ἀν[   
    ἐ]πὶ πράξεως τῶν ὀφειλομένων μο[ι ὑ]πὸ Ποτά-   
    μωνος [Θανώχιος τοῦ . . . ητιος,   
                  καὶ τοῦ Ποτάμωνος ἀδ]ελφοῦ Παθερμούθιος ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύης κατὰ   
    δημόσιον χρηματισμὸν γεγονότα   
                  διὰ τοῦ ἐν                    πόλει ἀρ]χείου τῷ δεκάτῳ ἔτε[ι Ἀν]τωνείνου Καίσαρος   
    το[ῦ κυρίου]   
    ]νου τοῦ Ποτ[άμ]ωνος δραχμ[ῶν] ἑκατὸν τόκων   
    δραχμ[αίων]   
 15                    ]..φ[.]·ερ[.]·ἐξ ἀλλ[ηλ]εγγύ[ης] ἀργυρίου δραχμ[ῶν]   
    διακοσίων   
                  τῆς ἀποδό]σεως μὴ γεγονυῖας με[τα]δοθέντος τε τοῦ τῆς   
    ἐνεχυ[ρασίας ἀντιγράφου]   
                  Παθερμούθι καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ] αὐτοῦ Ποτ]άμωνι διὰ Εἰρ[η]νίωνος ὑπηρέτου   
    τῇ ιη τ[οῦ]   
    καὶ διελ]θόντο[ς] πλείονος χρόνου ἀντὶ τῶν διὰ τοῦ προστ[   
                  κατασχεῖν πρὸς ἐν]εχ[υρ]ασίαν τῷ ἰδίῳ μου κινδύνῳ τοῦ Ποτάμωνος κατατ[   
 20                    τὴν ὑπάρχουσιν] αὐτῷ ἐν κώμῃ Μωνθμερεὺ τοῦ Νορασείτου ἄνω οἰκίαν   
    κα[ὶ αὐλήν]

ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς τ]ριακοσίας καὶ τόκους κ[α]ὶ τέ[λ]η καὶ πρακτορικὰς καὶ  
 τὰς ἄλλα[ς] δαπάνας  
 ]ια τοῦ ο[. . . . .] Σουλπικίου Σιμί[λ]εως δι[  
 . . . . .]

1. [Λ]ατο[πολίτου is possible at the end of the line.

7. The occurrence of two dashes after the number of the regnal year and the omission of the Emperor's name point to a date in Commodus' reign, when both these practices became common. The difficulty is that the debt was contracted in A.D. 146-7; cf. l. 13. The mention of Sulpicius Similis in l. 22 recalls the praefect of that name in 237. viii. 27, whose date is not certain; cf. p. 262.

13. ἀρ]χείου: the use of this term suggests that Oxyrhynchus was not meant, since there ἀγορανομεῖον or μνημονεῖον are the more usual terms, though an ἀρχεῖον probably at Oxyrhynchus is found in 509. 3.

## (b) APPLICATIONS TO OFFICIALS.

### 713. CLAIM OF OWNERSHIP.

38.5 × 9 cm.

A.D. 97.

A declaration addressed to the keepers of the record office by a certain Leonides, requesting the formal registration (παράθεσις) of his prospective right to some property at present in the ownership of his mother. The claim to the property in question depended upon the marriage contract of the writer's parents, in which their joint possessions were secured (κατέσχον) on their demise to their children. The father had died, and his property had been duly divided between Leonides and his brother and sister. The mother was still living, and had already made over two-thirds of her real estate to this brother and sister upon the marriage of the pair. Leonides, who was probably the younger son, therefore wished that note should be taken of this division, and that his own title to the remaining third of the property should be placed on record.

The document is dated in Phamenoth of the 1st year of Nerva, i.e. A.D. 97. It is not known that a general ἀπογραφή of real property occurred in that year, while 481 shows that such a registration took place in A.D. 99. There is evidence that general ἀπογραφαί, separated only by a two years' interval, were held in A.D. 129 and 131 (75, 715, B.G.U. 420, &c.), but that these both





ρας διὰ τῆς περὶ γάμου αὐτοῦ συγγρα-  
 [φῆς] αἵ εἰσι τὸ τρίτον τῶν προκειμέ-  
 νων ἀρουρῶν δεκάδνο, ἀπογρά-  
 35 φομαι καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸς παράθεσιν  
 κατοχὴν τῶν λοιπῶν τῆς μη-  
 τρὸς ἀρουρῶν τεσσάρων. ἡ δὲ προ-  
 κειμένη τῶν γονέων μου συγγρα-  
 φή ἐστιν ἔνθεσμος καὶ ἀπερί-  
 40 λυτος εἰς τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν ἡμέραν.  
 (ἔτους) α Αὐτοκρά[τ]ορος Νερ[οῦ]α [Καίσαρος  
 Σέβαστοῦ (1st hand) Φαμενώθ ιθ.  
 3rd hand Δημήτριος σεση(μείωμαι). ἔτους πρώτου  
 Αὐτοκράτορος Νερούα Καίσαρος  
 45 Σέβαστοῦ Φαμενώθ ιθ.

8. Second α of *σαρᾶνς* corr.

‘Inserted on the register.

To Demetrius and Apollonius and Diogenes, keepers of the records, from Leonides son of Diodorus son of Diodorus, his mother being Saraeus daughter of Leonides, of Oxyrhynchus. My parents, Diodorus son of Diodorus son of Agathinus, and Saraeus daughter of Leonides son of Alexander, her mother being Isidora daughter of Calas, of the said city, in accordance with the contract of marriage made between them through the record office of the said city in the month Sebastus of the 12th year of the deified Claudius settled upon their joint issue the whole of their property, in order that after their death it might be the secure and inalienable possession of their children; and whereas my father died leaving me and my brother and sister, Diodorus and Thais, his heirs, and his property devolved upon us, and whereas our mother possesses at Nesla  $9\frac{1}{2}$  arourae and at Peënno  $2\frac{1}{2}$  arourae of the concessional (?) land of Thrasymachus, together making 12 arourae, and bestowed upon my brother and sister aforesaid through their marriage contract 4 each of the arourae at Nesla, that is one-third of the aforesaid 12 arourae: I too declare for registration my right to the remaining 4 arourae of my mother; and the aforesaid contract of my parents remains in force and uncanceled to the present day. The 1st year of the Emperor Nerva Caesar Augustus, Pharmenoth 19.’ Signature of Demetrius and date.

1. *παρatiθέναι* and *παράθεσις* (cf. l. 35 below) are specially used of the declaration and registration through the *βιβλιοφύλακες* of claims to property. The verb has this technical sense e.g. in 237. iv. 38 *παρatiθέσθαι* διὰ τοῦ βιβλιοφυλακίου and viii. 34 *παρatiθέτωσαν* δὲ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ταῖς ὑποστάσεσι τῶν ἀνδρῶν. Cf. also B. G. U. 73. 10 sqq. *ἐπιστείλας τοῖς . . . [β]ιβλιοφύλαξιν . . . π[οιήσασθ]αι τὰ τῆς παρathέσεως*, and 243. 9 *ἐπιδίδωμι εἰς τὸ τὴν παρathέσιν γενέσθαι*, and 14 *προπαρakeί(μενον)* διὰ τοῦ βιβλ(ιοφυλακίου)<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The editor reads *κωλ(ύειν)*, but this makes no sense, and the correction proposed, which is palaeographically very close, seems in the light of the passages quoted above practically secure. The context in the Berlin papyrus further requires a negative like *μηδέν* in place of *καὶ τῷ* before *ἔσεσθαι ἐμπόδιον*.

12. The marriage contract referred to contained also testamentary dispositions; cf. C. P. R. 28. 8 sqq.

20. ἐπ' ἐμοὶ καὶ ἀδελφοῖς: sc. κληρονόμοις; cf. 481. 17-8, &c.

26. τῆς Θρασυμάχου παρειμένης: παρίεναι as a technical term applied to land seems to be new, and the present passage gives no clue to the meaning; perhaps 'conceded to' or 'abandoned.'

### 714. SELECTION OF BOYS (ἐπίκρισις).

Fr. (a) 4.2 × 5, Fr. (b) 29 × 5 cm.

A.D. 122.

An application addressed to a variety of officials by an Oxyrhynchite who enjoyed the privilege of paying a reduced poll-tax of 12 drachmae, requesting that a slave who had been born in his house and had reached the age of thirteen might be placed on the same privileged list. This papyrus thus confirms the evidence of 478 and B. G. U. 324, that the liability of slaves in respect of poll-tax was determined by that of their owners. A discussion of the general question of ἐπίκρισις is given in P. Oxy. II. pp. 217 sqq.

This papyrus is interesting palaeographically, being carefully written in a semi-uncial hand approximating to the sloping oval type, examples of which are often too indiscriminately assigned to the third century.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>Φιλονείκωι [τῶι<br/>καὶ Ἑρμοδώρῳ βα[σιλικῶ]<br/>γρα[μματεῖ] καὶ Διονυσίῳ καὶ<br/>ἐτέρῳ Διονυσίῳ<br/>5 βιβλ(ιοφύλαξι) καὶ ἐπικριταῖς<br/>καὶ Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἐξηγη(τεύσαντι)<br/>γρα[μματεῖ] πόλ(εως)<br/>πα[ρὰ] Ἀπολ[λωνίου]<br/>[. . . . . ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγ-]<br/>10 [χων πόλεως ἐπ' ἀμ-]<br/>[φόδου Νότου Κρη-]<br/>πείδος [. . . . .]<br/>ρος δοῦ[λός μου]</p> | <p>20 Καίσαρος τοῦ<br/>κυρίου, ὅθεν δ[η-]<br/>λῶ εἶναί με (δωδεκάδραχμον)<br/>διὰ λαογραφί[ας]<br/>β (ἔτους) Ἀδριανοῦ<br/>25 Καίσαρος τοῦ κ[υρίο(υ)]<br/>ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ [ἀμ-]<br/>φόδου καὶ ὁμ[ύω]<br/>Αὐτοκράτ[ο]ρα<br/>Καίσαρα Τραιανὸν<br/>30 Ἀδριανὸν Σεβαστὸν<br/>μὴ ἔψευσθαι. (ἔτους) 5<br/>Αὐτοκράτορος<br/>Καίσαρος Τραια-<br/>νοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ</p> |
|--|--|



οἰκογε[νήs ἐκ	35 Σεβαστοῦ Με-
15 δούλη[s . . . . .	χέλρ κ.
τρ[.]]υ . [. . . προσ-	2nd hand κατεχ(ωρίσθη)
βέβηκε[ν εἰs (τρισκαίδεκαέτειs)	ἐπικ(ρίταιs), χρό(νος) ὁ αὐ(τός).
τῷ διελθ[όντι	
ε (ἔτει) Ἀδρια[νοῦ	

‘To Philonicus also called Hermodorus, basilico-grammateus, and Dionysius and a second Dionysius, keepers of the archives and officers in charge of the selection, and to Apollonius, ex-exegetes and scribe of the city, from Apollonius . . . of the city of Oxyrhynchus, living in the West Quay quarter. My slave . . . , born in the house to my female slave . . . , has reached the age of 13 years in the past 5th year of Hadrianus Caesar the lord. I therefore declare that I am rated at 12 drachmae by a poll-tax list of the 2nd year of Hadrianus Caesar the lord at the said quarter, and I swear by the Emperor Caesar Trajanus Hadrianus Augustus that I have made no false statement.’ Date and docket of registration.

1-7. The papyrus is incomplete at the top and there are traces of ink above the first line, so no doubt the strategus (cf. 257. 14) preceded the βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς. It is noteworthy that only two persons in this long list of officials, namely the βιβλιοφύλακες, are called ἐπικρίται (cf. P. Fay. Towns 27. 3, and B. G. U. 562. 15, where ἐπικ(ρίτου) should be read); while 478 is addressed to the βιβλιοφύλακες alone. The βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς recurs in this connexion in 257. 15 and B. G. U. 562. 17. Applications of this class from the Fayûm are usually sent to ex-gymnasiarchs ὄντες πρὸς τῇ ἐπικρίσει.

13-4. The supplements hardly fill the available space, but the lines vary a good deal in length.

23. διὰ λαογραφί[as: cf. 478. 22-3 (δωδεκάδραχμον) δι’ ὁμολόγου λαογραφίας.

37-8. A similar docket occurs in 478, and ἐπικρίταιs may now be supplied there at the end of l. 49 on the analogy of the present papyrus; cf. also 786.

## 715. REGISTRATION OF PROPERTY.

30.7 × 11.5 cm.

A.D. 131.

A return of house-property in the Heracleopolite nome, addressed, as usual, to the keepers of the archives, in A.D. 131, when a general ἀπογραφή of real property took place; cf. B. G. U. 420 and 459, and 237. viii. 31, note. The formula is practically the same as that found in the Oxyrhynchus returns, e.g. 75 and 481. At the end is a docket of the βιβλιοφύλαξ.

- 'Ηρᾶι καὶ 'Ωριγένει γεγυμ(νασιαρχηκόσι) βιβλιοφύλακι ἐνκτῆ(σεων) 'Ηρα-  
 κλεοπ(ολίτου)  
 παρὰ Γοργίου καὶ Γαλέστου ἀμφοτέρων  
 Πολέμωνος τοῦ Γοργίου μητρὸς Διονυσιά-  
 5 δος τῆς Γαλέστου τῶν ἀπὸ κώμης  
 Τοεμίσεως. ἀπογραφόμεθα ἰδίῳ  
 κινδύνῳ κοινῶς ἐξ ἴσου εἰς τὸ ἐνε[σ-  
 τὸς ιε (ἔτος) 'Αδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου  
 κατὰ τὰ κελευσθέντα τὰ ἐληλυθότ(α)  
 10 εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ ὀνόματος τοῦ μετηλ-  
 λαχότος ἡμῶν πατρὸς Πολέμωνος  
 Γοργίου μητρὸς Ταποντῶτος ἀπὸ  
 τῆς αὐτῆς Τοεμίσεως, τὸ ἐπιβάλλ[ον  
 αὐτῶι ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Τοεμίσει τρίτον  
 15 μέρος οἰκίας καὶ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον αὐτῶι  
 μέρος ψιλοῦ τόπου, καὶ πρότερον  
 τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ 'Ελένης Γοργίου  
 μητρὸς τῆς αὐτῆς Ταποντῶτος  
 κατὰ διαθήκην τὴν καὶ λυθείσαν  
 20 τῶι ιβ (ἔτει) 'Αδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου  
 περὶ κώμην 'Ιβίωνα Παχνοῦβιν ἐκ τοῦ  
 Ζωίλου καὶ Νουμηνίου κλήρου γῆς  
 κατοικικῆς ἡμισυ τέταρτον  
 ὄγδουν καὶ περὶ Ψελεμαχ( ) ἐκ τοῦ Μερίπ-  
 25 πον καὶ 'Αρτεμιδώρου κλ(ήρου) γῆς κατοικ[ι]κῆ[s  
 ἀρούρης τέταρτον. καὶ ὁμνύομεν  
 τὴν Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τραιανοῦ  
 'Αδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ τύχ(ην) καὶ τοῦ(ς) πατρώ(υς)  
 θεοὺς ἐξ ὑγ(είας) καὶ ἐπ' ἀληθ(είας) ἐπιδεδωκ(έναι) τὴν  
 30 προκιμένην(ν) ἀπογραφὴν(ν) καὶ μηδὲν διεψεύσθ(αι)  
 ἢ ἔνοχοι εἶημεν τῶι ὅρκῳ. (ἔτους) ιε  
 Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τραιανοῦ  
 'Αδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ μηνὸς Καισαρείου ἐπ[αγο(μένων) ε.  
 2nd hand Γοργίας ὁ προγεγραμμένος ἐπιδ[έδω-

35 κα. (3rd hand) Ἡρᾶς γεγυ(μνασιαρχηκῶς) διὰ Ἱπποδ( ) γραμμ(ατέως)  
 συσταθ(έντος)  
 κ[α]τακεχώ(ρικά) ἀδιακ(ρίτως ?) κινδ(ύνῳ) τῶν ἀπογρα(φομένων) μηδενὸς  
 [δ]ημοσίου ἢ ιδιωτικο(ῦ) καταβλαπ(τομένου). ἐπαγο(μένων) ε.

1. l. βιβλιοφύλαξι. 12. μη of μητρος corr. from του. 14. ω of αυτωι corr. from η.  
 18. ης of της corr. from απ. 24. l. ὄγδοον.

'To Heras and Origenes, ex-gymnasiarchs, keepers of the records of real property in the Heracleopolite nome, from Gorgias and Galestus both sons of Polemon son of Gorgias, their mother being Dionysias daughter of Galestus, from the village of Toëmis. We register at our own risk jointly and equally for the present 15th year of Hadrianus Caesar the lord in accordance with the command the property which has devolved upon us from our deceased father Polemon son of Gorgias and Tapontos, from the said Toëmis, viz. the third share which fell to him of a house at the said Toëmis and his share of a piece of open ground, and what previously belonged to his sister Helene daughter of Gorgias and the said Tapontos, in accordance with a will which was opened in the 12th year of Hadrianus Caesar the lord, near the village of Ibion Pachnoubis in the holding of Zoilus and Numenius  $1\frac{7}{8}$  arourae of catoecic land, and near Pselemach( ) in the holding of Menippus and Artemidorus  $\frac{1}{4}$  aroura of catoecic land. And we swear by the Fortune of the Emperor Caesar Trajanus Hadrianus Augustus and by our ancestral gods that we have honestly and truly presented the foregoing declaration and that we have made no false statement, or may we be liable to the penalties of the oath. The 15th year of the Emperor Caesar Trajanus Hadrianus Augustus, 5th intercalary day of the month Caesareus. I, Gorgias the aforesaid, have presented the declaration. I, Heras ex-gymnasiarch, through Hippod( ), scribe, my representative, have entered it on the register jointly at the risk of the declaring parties, no public or private interests being injured. 5th intercalary day.'

10. Above the ο of ἀπό the scribe has written μη, which makes no sense and seems to be a mere error.

36. ἀδιακ(ρίτως) apparently corresponds to κοινῶς ἐξ ἑσού in l. 7.

## 716. AUCTION OF A SLAVE.

18.8 × 11.8 cm.

A.D. 186.

An application to a gymnasiarch from the guardians of three minors for a public auction of their wards' respective shares, amounting to two-thirds in all, of a male slave. The remaining third part of the slave was the property of the minors' half-brother, but had been emancipated by him; and this combination of circumstances led to the present request for an auction (ὅθεν ἐπιδίδομεν, l. 18), though the legal point involved is not very clear. It is however certain, as Professor Mitteis remarks, that neither this papyrus nor 722, where a partial



manumission is also concerned, can be brought under Roman law, according to which, at this period, in the case of a joint ownership of a slave, a manumitted share simply passed to the other owners (Ulpian, Fr. i. 18). There can therefore be only a question of Greek or Egyptian law ; and in the absence of parallels recourse must be had to more or less probable hypotheses. At the outset a doubt arises whether or not the partial manumission was the direct cause of the public auction. It is quite possible that the parties concerned merely wished to wind up their joint ownership, and that the details respecting the liberated share are accidental. If, however, the manumission was an essential factor, as *ᾧθεν* in l. 18 would rather indicate, the course here followed may be supposed to have been prescribed either in the interest of the slave or of the owners. In a sale by public auction the rights of a partially freed slave could be safeguarded in a manner which would not be practicable in a private treaty ; and this consideration supplies a very likely explanation of the present proceedings. Or, on the other hand, as Mitteis suggests, a sale by auction would protect an owner who wished to retain his share of a slave against a partner or partners who desired manumission. A sale of this kind would place the larger owner at an advantage against the smaller, since the former, if successful, would pay the latter only a fraction of the purchase-money, while the higher the bid of the small owner the greater the sum due from him to the predominant partner.

Ἀσκληπιάδῃ τῷ καὶ Σαραπίῳ[νι γυμν]ασιάρχῳ  
 [χαίρε]ιν  
 παρὰ Ὀρ[ί]ωνος Πανεχώτου τοῦ Δωρᾶτος μη-  
 τρὸς Ταοῦτος καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου Δωρίωνος  
 5 τοῦ Ἡρᾶτος μητρὸς Θαήσιος καὶ Ἀβασκάντου  
 ἀπελεύθερου Σάμου Ἡρακλείδου τῶν τριῶν  
 ἀπὸ Ὀξύρυγχων πόλεως ἐπιτρόπων ἀφηλί-  
 κων τέκνων Θέωνος τοῦ καὶ Δι[ον]υσίου  
 Εὐδαιμονίδος μητρὸς Σινθεῦτος καὶ Δι-  
 10 ονυσίου καὶ Θαήσιος ἀμφοτέρων μητρὸς  
 Ταύριος τῶν τριῶν ἀπὸ τ[ῆ]ς αὐτῆς πόλεως.  
 ὑπάρχει τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀφ[ήλ]ιξι τῇ μὲν Εὐδαι-  
 μονίδι ἕκτον μέρος τῷ δὲ Διονυσίῳ καὶ  
 Θαήσει ἡμισυ μέρος τὸ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ δίμοι[ρ]ον  
 15 μέρος πατρικοῦ αὐτῶν δούλου Σαραπίῳ[νος]

- ὥς (ἐτῶν) λ οὐ τὸ λοιπὸν τρίτον δὲ τοῦ ὁμοπα-  
 τρίου αὐτῶν ἀδελφοῦ Διογένο[υ]ς ἡλευθέ-  
 ρωται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. ὅθεν ἐπιδίδομεν τὸ βιβλί-  
 διον ἀξιοῦντες κατὰ τὸ δηλούμενον
- 20 τῶν ἀφηλίκων δέμοιρον μέρος τὴν προ-  
 κήρυξιν γενέσθαι καὶ τὴν ἀμείνονα  
 αἵρεσιν διδόντι παραδοθῆναι. (ἔτους) κξ  
 Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου  
 Κομμόδου Ἀντωνίνου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς
- 25 Σεβαστοῦ Ἀρμενικοῦ Μηδικοῦ Παρθικοῦ  
 Σαρματικοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου  
 Βρετανν[ι]κοῦ Θῶθ. (2nd hand) Ὡρίων Πανεχώτου  
 ἐπιδέδωκα. (3rd hand) [Ἀπο]λλώνιο[ς] Δωρίωνος συν-  
 ἐπιδέδωκα. (4th hand) Ἀβάσκαντο[ς] ἀπελεύθερο[ς]
- 30 Σάμου Ἡρακλείδου συνεπι[δέδ]ωκα. Διο[γέν]ης  
 Θέωνος το[ῦ] καὶ Διονυσίου ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ  
 μὴ εἰδότος γράμματα.

'To Asclepiades also called Sarapion, gymnasiarch, greeting, from Horion son of Panechotes son of Doras, his mother being Taous, and from Apollonius son of Dorion son of Heras, his mother being Thaësis, and from Abascantus, freedman of Samus son of Heraclides, all three of Oxyrhynchus and guardians of the children of Theon also called Dionysius, namely Eudaemonis, whose mother is Sintheus, and Dionysius and Thaësis, whose mother is Tauris, being minors and all three of the said city. The said minors own, Eudaemonis one-sixth and Dionysius and Thaësis a half, together two-thirds, of a slave of their father's named Sarapion, aged about 30 years, the remaining third share of whom, belonging to Diogenes their brother on the father's side, has been set free by him. We therefore present this memorandum requesting that in respect of (?) the aforesaid two-thirds a public auction should be held, and that the property should be handed over to the highest bidder. The 27th year of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus Armeniacus Medicus Parthicus Sarmaticus Germanicus Maximus Britannicus, Thoth.' Signatures of Horion, Apollonius and Abascantus, that of the last-named being written for him by Diogenes son of Theon.

19-20. The exact meaning of this passage is uncertain owing to the ambiguity of *κατά*, which may be connected with either *ἀξιοῦντες* or *τὴν προκήρυξιν γενέσθαι*. In the former case *κατά* means 'because of,' and the request would be for the sale of the whole slave; in the latter *κατά* signifies 'in respect of' (cf. 722. 14), and no more than the two-thirds would be involved,—a sense which would have been more clearly expressed by the simple genitive *τοῦ . . . μέρους*.

22. *αἵρεσιν διδόντι*: cf. B. G. U. 656, an advertisement of property to let, *οἱ βουλόμενοι μισθώσασθαι . . . προσερχέστωσαν τοῖς πρὸς τούτοις ἔρεσιν* (l. *αἵρεσιν*) *διδόντες*.

## (c) PETITIONS.

## 717. PETITION.

17.5 × 20.5 cm.

Late 1st century B.C.

Part of a complaint addressed, no doubt, to some official, with reference to a dispute about the fairness of a measure between the writer, who seems to have been responsible for a cargo of corn, and another person. Owing to the imperfect condition of the papyrus, of which a preceding column or columns are lost, and of which only the first line is complete, the details are obscure. A curious new word, *διλετον*, occurs in ll. 5 and probably 12, apparently denoting some kind of measure. The writer's style suggests that he was still labouring under much excitement.

- μέτρῳ ἐνβαλοῦμαι. ἐκβοῶντος δέ μου καὶ κράζοντος τὰ τοσαῦτα  
 [. . . . .]ψατο με λέγων ὅτι τοῖς μέτροις σου οὐ θέλω ἰσχήσασθαι, ἡ-  
 [νάγκασμα]ι δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ [ἄ]λλο μέτρον ἀγοράσαι. ἀγοράσαντος δέ μου  
 [αὐτὸ πα]ρέχῳ ἔχων τὸν κυβερνήτην καὶ συνβάλλο αὐτὸ κατε-  
 5 [. . . . .] εὐρίσκῳ αὐτὸ πρὸς τὸ διλετον, εἰσπορεύομαι εἰς τὴν αὐ-  
 [. . . ἔχων α]ὐτὸ καὶ παραλαμβάνω Ἀσίην τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἑρασίππου  
 [. . . . .]. οὖν εἰσπορεύομαι πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν ἔχων αὐτὸ καὶ  
 [συμβάλλω] αὐτὸ πρὸς τὸ χαλκοῦν μέτρον ἐν τῷ συνεδρείῳ, εὐρίσ-  
 [κῳ αὐτὸ . . . . .] μείζῳ δύο ταῖς ἑκατόν. ἐγὼ οὖν ἐβόων καὶ ἔκραζον  
 10 [. . . . .]ερον τὸ χαλκοῦν ἄδικόν ἐστι καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν δίκαιον  
 [ 12 letters ἐν τῷ συν]εδρείῳ σὺν τῷ στρατηγῷ ἐκ(ρ)άξοσαν  
 [ 22 „ β]ρώντων δ' αὐτῶν εἰσφέρω τὸ διλε-  
 [τον 21 letters ] βοῶν καὶ κράζων ὅτι τοῦτο ἔστι  
 [ 26 letters ἡν]άγκασμαι βοᾶν αὐτῷ ὅτι  
 15 [ 28 „ ] δὲ οὐκ ἐνβάλλομαι ὧδε  
 [ 28 „ ] ἐντυγχάνωντος πυκνὰ  
 [ 24 „ τ]οῦ δρόμου τ[  
 . . . . .

4. l. συμβάλλω.

16. l. ἐντυγχάνωντος.



2. [. . . ἡμεῖ]ψατο or [ἀντημεῖ]ψατο would suit the context. For ἡ[νάγκασμα] cf. l. 14.
5. The meaning and even the construction of πρὸς τὸ δίλετον (the reading of which is quite certain) is very obscure. From l. 12 it appears that the δίλετον was portable, and perhaps it was a species of measure, though whether it was that to which the writer's opponent objected (l. 2) or an official measure of some kind is not clear. Assuming this to be the meaning of δίλετον, it is tempting to connect πρὸς τὸ δίλ. with συμβάλλω αὐτό in l. 4; but the intervening words εὐρίσκω αὐτό are then very difficult. Possibly πρὸς τὸ δίλ. is parallel to μείζω δύο ταῖς ἑκατόν in l. 9, since the general construction of ll. 4-5 and 8-9 seems to be the same; but πρὸς τὸ δίλ. can by itself hardly mean 'equal to the δίλετον' and ἴσον would have to be supplied.
- εἰς τὴν αὐ[ ]: probably εἰς τὴν αὐ[τοῦ], i.e. the person referred to in l. 2, or τὴν Αὐ[ ] . . .
8. For the use of bronze in official measures cf. P. Tebt. 5. 85-92, and P. Amh. 43. 9-10.

## 718. PETITION TO THE EPISTRATEGUS.

25.8 x 17.5 cm.

A. D. 180-192.

A petition from Antistius Primus, who had held the chief priesthood and other offices at Oxyrhynchus, complaining that a payment due to the government upon 4 arourae of Crown land had been demanded from him, although his property included no land of that character. The land in question had perhaps been the subject of a perpetual lease, and owing to lapse of time and deficiencies in the survey-lists its identity had become doubtful; cf. a similar case in P. Amh. 68. 52 sqq.

From the character of the handwriting the papyrus must belong to the latter half of the second century, and there can be little doubt that the Xenophon here addressed, who was evidently a high official, was T. Claudius Xenophon, known to have been epistrategus in the reign of Commodus (C. I. L. III. 6575, 8042).

- [Τίτῳ Κλαυδίῳ Ξ]ενοφῶντι [τῷ κρατίστῳ ἐπιστρατήγῳ,  
[παρὰ . . . . .] Ἀνθεστίου Πρεῖμ[ου τοῦ καὶ Λολλιανοῦ  
[ 12 letters σ]αντος καὶ ἀρχιερ[ατεύσαντος  
[ 10 „ τῆς] Ὁξύρυγχειτῶν [πόλεως  
5 [. . . . ἐπριάμην μ]ὲν παρὰ Διονυσίου  
[ 12 letters ο]ν σὺν τῷ Ἀλεξάν[δρῳ τὰς περὶ Σέννιν  
[. . . . ὑπαρχούσα]ς αὐτῷ ἐκ διαιρ[έσεως γενομένης πρὸς  
[. . . . καὶ τὸν ἀδελ]φὸν Ἀπολλώνιον νεώτερον ἀρούρας [σει]τικᾶς πεντήκον-

- [τα δύο ἡμισ]υ καὶ ἐν οἱ[κοπέδο]ις ἀρούρης ἡμισυ καθαρὰς ἀπὸ βασιλικῆς καὶ  
 10 [οὐσιακῆς καὶ ἱερᾶ]ς ἀκολουθῶς ἧ πεποίημαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς διαιρέσει  
 [τελοῦντός μου τὰ] τῆς ἰδιωτικῆς μόνης δημόσια. χρόνῳ δὲ παμπόλλῳ ὕστε-  
 [ρον μετὰ τ]εσσεράκοντα ἔτη οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως τοῦ πράτου Διονυσίου ἀποθανόν-  
 [τος ὁ τῆς . . .] . α κωμογραμματεὺς περὶ ὃν ἔστιν καὶ ἡ Σέγγις ὡς ἐξ ἐπερω-  
 [τήσεως κτήτ]ορος παρ' οὗ δεήσει τὴν ἀπαίτησιν ποιήσα[σ]θαι δημοσίῳν  
 15 [ἀρουρῶν τεσ]σάρων βασιλικῆς ἐν πυροῦ ἀρτάβαις δεκάπεντε προσεφώνησεν  
 [τὰς τέσσαρας ταύ]τας ἀρούρας τῆς βασιλικῆς συναναμίγους εἶναι τῇ ὑπαρ-  
 [χούσῃ μοι γῇ τῶ]ν πεντήκοντα τριῶν ἃς ἐπριάμην παρὰ τοῦ Διονυσίου καὶ  
 [ 13 letters ]ου, ὡς ἐκ τούτου δεῖν τὰ δημόσια ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἀποδοθῆναι  
 [ 13 „ ]υ μήτε βασιλικὴν συνανάμιγον ἐσχηκότος μηδ' αὖ γεωρ-  
 20 [γοῦντος μηδ' ὅλῳ]ς γνωρίζοντός τι τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ κωμογραμματέως  
 [προσφωνηθέντων] ἔτι δὲ ἄνωθ[ε]ν τῶν δημοσίων ἀποδιδόμενων  
 [ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν] ἀρουρῶν τεσσάρων ὡς εἰκὸς ὑπὸ ἐτέρων. ἐπεὶ οὖν  
 [βλάβῃ ἐπαθον οὐ]κ ὀλίγα, ἄδικον δὲ μὴ γεωργοῦντα ἀπαιτεῖσθαι με δημό-  
 [σια ὑπὲρ ἀλλοτρία]ς γῆς, δέομαι, ἐάν σοι δόξη, γράψαι τῷ τοῦ νομοῦ στρατηγῷ  
 25 [ἵνα ᾧ προσῆκόν] ἔστιν τοῦτο πράξῃ ἐπιστείλῃ κατὰ τὰ διατεταγμένα εἰνεῖν  
 [ 13 letters τ]ᾶ[s] ὑπὸ τοῦ κωμογραμματέως προσφωνηθείσας  
 [ἀρούρας τέσσαρας βα]σιλικῆς συ[ν]αναμίγους εἶναι τῇ ἰδιωτικῇ μου  
 [καὶ . . . . .] πρ[ο]σφωνήσῃ τὸν ἐπικρατοῦντα παρ' οὗ καὶ εὐλόγως ἢ  
 [ἀπαίτησις τῶν δημοσίων] γενήσεται[α]ι. περὶ γὰρ ὧν ἀπητήθην οὐ δέον δημο-  
 30 [σίῳν μενεῖ μοι ὁ λόγος] πρὸς τὸν φ[α]νησόμενον ἀντιποιούμενον, ἵν' ᾧ  
 [βεβοηθημένος. διε]υτ[ύ]χει.  
 2nd hand [. . . . .] Ἀνθέστιος Πρεῖμος ὁ καὶ Δολλιανὸς διὰ Ἀπολλωνίου  
 [ ἐπιδέδωκα]

25. 1. πρᾶξαι.

26. π of υπο corr.?

‘To his highness the epistrategus Titus Claudius Xenophon from . . . Antistius Primus also called Lollianus, . . . , ex-chief-priest . . . of the city of Oxyrhynchus . . . I bought from Dionysius . . . with Alexander the land at Sennis . . . belonging to him in consequence of the division made with . . . and his brother Apollonius the younger, namely  $52\frac{1}{2}$  arourae of corn-land and  $\frac{1}{2}$  aroura of building-land, free from obligations in respect of Crown land or Imperial estates or temple land, in accordance with the division made by me with the (my?) brothers, the taxes upon the private land only being paid by me. A very long while afterwards, forty years having elapsed, it somehow happened after the death of the seller Dionysius that the komogrammateus of . . . , to whose district Sennis also belongs, in answer to an inquiry concerning the landlord from whom the

demand should be made of the imposts for 4 arourae of Crown land amounting to 15 artabae of wheat, stated that these 4 arourae of Crown land were included in the 53 arourae belonging to me which I bought from Dionysius and . . . , and that therefore the imposts ought to be paid by me . . . , although I have never had Crown land included in mine nor cultivate any and am altogether ignorant of the statements of the komogrammateus, and although the imposts for the said 4 arourae have for years been paid in the regular course by others. Therefore since I have incurred no small loss and it is unjust that I should be asked to pay the imposts on land which does not belong to me and which I do not cultivate, I beg you, if you think fit, to write to the strategus of the nome, in order that in accordance with the decrees he may direct the officials whose duty it is to . . . the 4 arourae of Crown land declared by the komogrammateus to be included in my private land, and may state the owner from whom the demand for the imposts may reasonably be made; for I shall retain a claim for the sums with which I was wrongfully charged against the person proved to be responsible for the payment, that so I may obtain relief. Farewell. (Signed) Presented by me, . . . Antistius Primus also called Lollianus, through Apollonius . . .'

3. Probably ἀγορανομήσ[αν]τος, the municipal titles being usually arranged on an ascending scale; cf. Preisigke, *Städtisches Beamtenwesen in röm. Aeg.* p. 31.

8. [σει]τικός: or possibly [ιδιω]τικός (cf. ll. 11 and 27), but [σει]τικός makes a better contrast to ἐν οἱ[κοπέδο]ις, if that be right.

9. καθαρὰς ἀπὸ βασιλικῆς κ.τ.λ.: cf. 506. 37 note, and 633.

13. . . .] . a is the name of a village or ἐποίκιον.

14. κτήτ[ο]ρος, if right, is an objective genitive depending upon ἐπερω[τήσεως]; cf. l. 28. An alternative supplement is πράκτ[ο]ρος constructed subjectively, but the relative παρ' οὗ is then awkward.

δημοσίων: i.e. the rent, the rate of which upon βασιλικὴ γῆ was usually about 4 artabae the aroura; in the present case it was  $3\frac{3}{4}$  artabae. In l. 11 on the other hand δημόσια has its ordinary meaning of taxes.

16. συνανάμιγος appears to be a new compound.

18. Perhaps [τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου] or [τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου]. But it would appear from l. 12 that there was only one πράτης.

25. εἵκει at the end of the line is clearly written, but suggests nothing; some word like ἐπισκέψασθαι is wanted.

## 719. REGISTRATION OF A DEED.

19.8 × 16.6 cm.

A.D. 193.

A notice addressed to the strategus by a certain Didymus of an authorization received by him from the archidicastes in answer to an application which he had made for the registration of a purchase of some house property. A copy of the application, itself enclosing a copy of the agreement of sale, is appended, and gives some interesting information concerning the formalities attending this process of registration, which we think has not hitherto been understood. Texts



of the same class already published are B. G. U. 455, 578 and 717, to which an important Leipzig papyrus will shortly be added (cf. P. Grenf. II. 71. 6, B. G. U. 970. 20-2, 983. 10). The object in all these cases is to effect the 'publication' (δημοσίωσις) of private agreements made by note of hand (χειρόγραφα), and the publication consisted in the registration of the agreements at the Library of Hadrian and the Nanaeum at Alexandria (cf. l. 35 below, B. G. U. 578. 19, and 34). For such registration of a copy of an agreement the fixed charge of 12 drachmae was payable (ll. 30-1), to which is added in the Leipzig papyrus a tax proportionate to the value involved; a declaration had to be made that the document registered was really written by the person by whom it purported to have been issued (ll. 33-4, B. G. U. 717. 26, &c.); and a notice of the transaction was served in the ordinary way through the strategus upon the other contracting party, who would of course raise objections if any irregularity had occurred (ll. 3-4). We are unable to find here, with Gradenwitz (*Einführung*, pp. 36-7), any question of a comparison of deeds or handwriting. The purpose was rather to obtain for the agreement concerned a validity which, as a mere χειρόγραφον, it did not previously possess, notwithstanding the formula ὡς ἐν δημοσίῳ κατακεχωρισμένη (l. 28, &c.). In B. G. U. 578 the δημοσίωσις was preparatory to an action at law arising out of the non-fulfilment of the terms of the χειρόγραφον. In the other cases no such purpose is specified, and the step taken is only precautionary. This δημοσίωσις of χειρόγραφα is to be distinguished from the simple notification to the archidicastes of contracts without any reference to καταχωρισμός at the two libraries (cf. 727, introd.).

The papyrus bears the date Phaophi of the 2nd year of Pescennius Niger; other documents dated shortly before the collapse of his power are 801 and P. Grenf. II. 60.

Ἀχιλλῇ τῷ καὶ Κασίῳ στρα(τηγῷ)

2nd hand παρὰ Διδύμου Ἀμμωνίου μητρὸς Ἑλένης ἀπ[οί]κου Ἡλίου πό[λεω]ς.  
ο[ὗ] ἐπό[ρ]ισ[α]

ἐκ τοῦ καταλογείου χρηματισμοῦ ἐστὶν ἀντίγρα(φον). Οὐιτάλιος [ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ  
ἀρχιδ]ικαστῆς Ὁ[ξ]υρυγχείτου στρα(τηγῷ) χα(ίρειν). τοῦ δεδομένου ὑπο-  
μ(νήματος) ἀντί[γρα(φον)] μεταδο(θήτω) ὥς

5 ὑπό(κειται). ἔ]ρρωσο. (ἔτους) β Γαίου Πεσκεννίου Νίγερος Ἰούστου  
Σεβαστ[ο]ῦ Φαῶφι κη.

[. . . .] . ηρη . ( ) [σ]εσημ(είωμαι). Πο[λ]έμ[ω]ν Πα . . [. . .] γραμματ(εύς)  
καταλογ[είου] . πο( ) ἔγ[ραψα].

Οὐ[ι]ταλίῳ ἱερῷ ἀρχιδ[ικα]στῇ καὶ πρ[ὸ]ς [τῇ] ἐπ[ι]μ[ε]λ[ε]ία τῶν χρηματιστῶν  
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κριτηρίων παρὰ Διδύμου Ἀμμω[νί]ου μη[τ]ρὸς [Ἑλένης  
ἀπο[ί]κου Ἑλίου πόλεως. τοῦ προημένου μοι ἀπλοῦ χειρογράφ[ου] ἀντί-  
[γρ(αφον)] ὑπόκειται).

- 10 Παποντῶς Βίθνος μητρὸς Τσενπαχοῦτος ἀπὸ τοῦ Τρύφωνος [Εἰσεί]ν [τοῦ  
'Οξυρυγχείτου νομοῦ Διδύμου Ἀπολλωνίου μητρὸς Ἑλένης ἀπ[οί]κου  
'Ἑλίου πόλεως χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ πεπρακέναι καὶ παρακεχω[ρ]η[κέν]αι  
σοι ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν εἰς τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων μοι ἐν τῷ [αὐ]τῷ  
Τρύφωνος Εἰσείῳ ἐν τοῖς ἀπὸ νότου μέρεσι τῆς κώμης ἡμ[ί]σ[ου]ς [μέ]ρος  
15 οἰκίῳ δύο διστέγου καὶ αἰθρίου κοινῶν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφόν μου Παοῦν,  
ὧν γείτονες τῆς μὲν μιᾶς τοῦ αἰθρίου νότου εἴσοδος καὶ ἔξοδος βορρᾶ [κλ]η-  
ρονόμων Διογάτος ἀπηλιώτου κληρονόμων Ὡρου λιβὸς δημοσ[ί]α ῥύ-  
μη, τῆς <δὲ> δευτέρας νότου Παποντῶτος Μούθιος βορρᾶ Ἑρακλείδου  
'Ωρείωνος ἀπηλιώτου δημοσία ῥύμη λιβὸς Μιύσιος Μέλανος,  
20 τιμῆς τῆς συμπεφωνημένης πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπὲρ παραχωρητι-  
κοῦ ἀργυρίου Σεβαστοῦ νομίσμα[τος] δ[ρα]χμῶν δισχειλίω[ν,] ἃς  
αὐτόθι ἀπέσχον παρὰ σοῦ διὰ [χειρὸς . . . . .]δραση γεινόμενος  
βεβαιοῦν δέ με αὐτὰς τ[ὰς] οἰκίας καθαρὰς ἀπό τε δημοσίας  
κα[ὶ] ἰδιωτικῆς ὀφιλῆς καὶ ἀπὸ ἀπογραφῆς ἀνδρῶν κ[α]ὶ [ἐ]ξιδ[ου]ς  
25 οὔτινοσούν ἄλλου καὶ ἐξουσίας σοι οὔσης ἐτέροις παρ[α]χωρεῖν καὶ  
διοικε[ῖ]ν κα[ὶ] ἐπιτελεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν ὡς ἔαν αἰρῇ. κυρία [ἡ] ὁμολογία  
γραφείσα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τοῦ Παποντῶτος ἰδ[ι]όγραφος μου χω[ρ]ὶς ἀλείφατος  
καὶ ἐπιγραφῆς ὡς ἐν δημοσίῳ κατακεχωρισμέν[η]. (ἔτους) α Γαίου  
Πεσκεννίου Νί[γ]ερος Ἰούστου Σεβαστοῦ Παῦνι κ. βουλόμενος οὖν  
30 ἐν δημοσίῳ γενέσθαι τὸ αὐθεντικὸν χειρόγραφον διδοῦ[ς] τὰς  
ὀρισθείσας (δραχμὰς) ιβ ἕνεκα τοῦ μὴ περιέχειν με τὰς περὶ [δημοσιώ-  
σεως] διαστολὰς καὶ μοναχὸν δημοσιοῦσθαι ἀξιῶ ἀν[α]λαβόντα  
τὸ αὐθεντικὸν χειρόγραφον ἔχειν μου χειρογραφίαν [περὶ] τοῦ  
εἶναι αὐτὸ ἰδιόγραφον τοῦ Παποντῶτος συνκαταχωρ[ίσαι] τῷδε τῷ  
35 ὑπομνή[ματι] εἰς τ[ὴν] Ἀδριανὴν βι[βλ]ι[ο]θήκην εἰς [

2. Second δ of διδυμον corr. from first half of a μ. 5. φαωφι apparently over an  
erasure. 7. ἱερὶ Pap. 9. 1. προειμένον. 10. χ of τσενπαχοῦτος corr. from γ by  
another hand. 11. απολλωνίου corr. from αμμωνίου by another hand. 14. 1. ἡμισυ.  
31. A correction after με; cf. note below. 33. 1. ἔχον.

'To Achilles also called Casius, strategus, from Didymus son of Ammonius and Helene, a settler from Heliopolis. Appended is a copy of the official response received by me from the record office. "Vitalius, priest and archidicastes, to the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, greeting. Let a copy of the petition which has been presented be served as follows. Good-bye. The 2nd year of Gaius Pescennius Niger Justus Augustus, Phaophi 28. Signed by me . . . Written by me, Polemon son of . . . scribe of the record office. . . . To Vitalius, priest, archidicastes and superintendent of the chrematistae and other courts, from Didymus son of Ammonius and Helene, a settler from Heliopolis. Appended is a copy of the bond issued singly to me. Papontos son of Bithys and Tsenpachous, of Ision Tryphonis in the Oxyrhynchite nome, to Didymus son of Apollonius and Helene, a settler from Heliopolis, greeting. I acknowledge that I have sold and ceded to you from henceforth for ever of my property in the said Ision Tryphonis in the southern part of the village a half share of two houses, one having two storeys, the other a yard, owned jointly by me and my brother Paous, the boundaries of which are, of the one with the yard, on the south an entrance and exit, on the north the property of the heirs of Diogas, on the east that of the heirs of Horus, on the west a public road, and of the other, on the south the property of Papontos son of Mouthis, on the north that of Heraclides son of Horion, on the east a public road, on the west the property of Miusis son of Melas, at the price agreed upon between us for the cession namely 2000 drachmae of the Imperial silver coinage, which sum I have received immediately from hand to hand . . .; and I guarantee the houses free from public and private debts and unaffected by persons' property-returns or any other claims, the right resting with you to cede to others and to manage and dispose of them as you choose. This contract, written by me, Papontos, in my own hand without erasure or insertion, is valid as though publicly registered. The 1st year of Gaius Pescennius Niger Justus Augustus, Pauni 20. Being therefore desirous that the authentic bond should be publicly registered I offer the prescribed 12 drachmae, in order that the regulations concerning publication may not apply to me (?), and that a single copy may be published, and request you to take this authentic bond bearing my attestation that it is the autograph of Papontos and register it together with this petition at the Library of Hadrian . . ."

3. ἐκ τοῦ: in 485. 3 ἐκ should also be read instead of πα(ρά).

6. γραμματ(εύς) καταλογ[είου]: this no doubt was also the position of Hephaestion in 485. 8 and Flavius Aurelius in B. G. U. 578. 8. The καταλογεῖον was presumably at Alexandria.

22. ]δραση looks like the termination of a place name.

23-4. καθαρὰς] . . . ἀπὸ ἀπογραφῆς: cf. 577 καθαρὸν (a share of a house) ἀπὸ ἀπογραφῆς πάσης καὶ ἀπὸ γεωργ(ίας) βασιλικῆς καὶ οὐσιακῆς καὶ παντὸς εἶδους.

27-8. χω[ρὶς ἀλείφατος] καὶ ἐπιγραφῆς: cf. B. G. U. 666: 31, 717. 24, &c.

31-2. This is an obscure passage, the difficulties being increased by a slight uncertainty concerning the reading of με, which is followed in the original by something having the appearance of a tall ν. To read μου is unsatisfactory because the ε does not seem to have been touched, and we prefer to suppose that the tail of the φ of χειρόγραφον in l. 30, which is immediately above, descended into the line below and was cut off by a curved cross-stroke, so producing the effect of a ν. With μου, supposing that were intended, the meaning would be 'because it (the χειρόγραφον) does not comprise my διαστολαί'; and the words may be construed in a somewhat similar sense with the more probable reading με 'because I do not possess the orders for publication,' the reference to the διαστολαί being in either case quite unexplained. On the view adopted



in our translation the διαστολαὶ περὶ δημοσιώσεως may be supposed to have prescribed certain penalties or disabilities if the form of procedure followed by the petitioner was neglected.

## 720. REQUEST FOR A GUARDIAN.

21.5 × 9.8 cm.

A.D. 247. PLATE VII.

A petition in Latin addressed to the praefect, Clāudius Valerius Firmus, by a woman named Aurelia Ammonarion, that he would appoint a particular person as her guardian in accordance with the *lex Iulia et Titia*. This measure, which is supposed to have been passed in B.C. 31, empowered the praefects of provinces to assign guardians to women and minors who were without them. Appended to the document, which is signed in Greek by the petitioner and her proposed guardian, is the reply of the praefect making the appointment as desired. The rarity of accurately-dated specimens of Latin cursive gives the papyrus a considerable palaeographical interest.

[C]l(audio) Valerio Firm[o] praef(ecto) Aeg(ypti)  
 ab Aurelia{e} Ammo[nario].  
 rogo domine des m[un]hi  
 auctorem Aurel(ium) Plutammonem  
 5 e lege Iulia Titia et . . . . [ . . .  
 dat(um) do(minis) no(stris) Philippo Aug(usto) ii et  
 Philippo Caesaris c[on]s(ulibus).

2nd hand [A]νρηλία Ἀμμωνάριον [ἐπιδédωκα.

3rd hand [A]νρηλία Πλουτάμμων εὐδοκῶ τῇ

10 [δε]ήσι.

4th hand (ἔτους) δ Τῦβι ι. [

5th hand. quo ne ab[ . . . . .

abeat Plutammonem

e leg(e) Iul(ia) et [Titia auctorem

15 do. (6th hand?) ceph[ .

6. d° d°. n° n° Pap.

7. l. Caesare.

9. l. Ἀνρήλιος.

‘To Claudius Valerius Firmus, praefect of Egypt, from Aurelia Ammonarion. I beg, my lord, that you will grant me as my guardian Aurelius Plutammion in accordance with the *lex Iulia Titia* . . . Dated in the consulship of our lords Philippus Augustus

for the 2nd time and Philippus Caesar. (Signed) I, Aurelia Ammonarion, have presented the petition. I, Aurelius Plutammon, assent to the request. The 4th year, Tubi 10. (Endorsed) In order that . . . may not be absent, I appoint Plutammon as guardian in accordance with the *lex Iulia et Titia*. Received by me.'

1. Valerius Firmus is already known as praefect at this time from P. Amh. 72 (A.D. 246) and 81 (A.D. 247). With regard to the date of P. Amh. 72 Wilcken considers (*Archiv*, II. p. 127) that the regnal year should be read as 5 instead of 7, as in our text; but we still hold that 7 is right and that the facsimile, so far from throwing any doubt upon our reading, thoroughly confirms it.

5. *lege Iulia Titia*: cf. Gaius, *Inst.* i. § 185 *si cui nullus omnino tutor sit, ei datur in urbe Roma ex lege Atilia . . . in provinciis vero a praesidibus provinciarum ex lege Iulia et Titia*. In the official signature below (l. 14) the more usual and probably more correct form *Iulia et Titia* is used. The *et* has sometimes been regarded as a reason for supposing that there were two leges, a Julia and a Titia, but the conclusion is by no means necessary.

Of the mutilated word at the end of the line the first letter may be *a*, *e*, *i*, *s*, or *t*, and the second *a*, *r*, *m*, *n*, or *x*.

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(d) CONTRACTS.

721. SALE OF CROWN LAND.

15 × 16.5 cm.

A.D. 13-14.

An offer addressed by two persons to Gaius Seppius Rufus, perhaps idiologus, for the purchase of 19 arourae of land which had reverted to the State and was at the time uncultivated, at the price of 12 drachmae per aroura. The document follows, so far as it goes, the same formula as P. Amh. 68. 17-24, which Mitteis is no doubt right in explaining, not as a sale in the strict sense, but as an example of emphyteusis or hereditary lease (*Zeitschr. Savigny-St.* 1901, pp. 151 sqq.)—a custom for which we now have evidence in Egypt as early as the second century B.C. (cf. P. Tebt. I. 5. 12). That this is the true nature of the transaction, in spite of the use of the term *ωνήσασθαι*, is shown both by the lowness of the price—in P. Amh. 68. 21, 20 drachmae, here only 12—and by the provision in the Amherst papyrus for an annual rent. Cf. 835, which is a similar offer for the 'purchase' of land addressed to the same official as 721, and P. Amh. 97. The document was never completed, blank spaces being left for some of the dates.

- Γαίῳ Σεππίῳ Ῥούφῳ  
 παρὰ Πολέμωνος τοῦ Τρύφωνος καὶ Ἀρχελάου . . . . .  
 βουλόμεθα ὠνήσασθαι ἐν τῷ Ὁξύρυγχ[εῖτῃ] . . . . . ἀπὸ  
 ὑπολόγου βασιλικῆς ἕως τοῦ (ἔτους) Καίσα[ρ]ος κλήρων ἐ-  
 5 πὶ τοῦ (ἔτους) Καίσαρος ἀνειλλημένων καὶ ἀφόρ[ω]ν  
 γεγονότων καὶ κλήρων τῶν ἕως τοῦ ἀνειλλημένων  
 καὶ αὐτοῦ (ἔτους) Καίσαρος ἀνειλλημένων πλὴν ἱερᾶς εἰς κ[α]ρποῦς (?)  
 τοῦ ἰσιόντος τετάρτου καὶ τεσσαρακόστου ἔτους Καίσαρος, [ὁ μὲν  
 Πολέμων περὶ Θῶσβιν καὶ Τεποῦιν τῇ[s] ἄνω τοπ[α]ρχ[ί]ας  
 10 ἀρούρ(ας) δεκάπεντε, / ἄρουρ(αι) ιε, ὁ δὲ Ἀρχέλ[αος] περὶ . . . . . τῇς  
 Θμοισεφῶ τοπαρχ[ί]ας ἀρούρ(ας) τέσσαρες, / ἄρουρ(αι) [δ, / ἄρουρ(αι) ιθ,  
 ἐφ' ᾧ παραδειχθέντες ταύτας διαγράψομεν εἰς τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν τό-  
 πων [δη]μοσίαν τράπεζαν τὴν κεκε[λευσμένην] τιμὴν ἐκάστης  
 ἀρούρ(ας) [ἀργυ]ρίου (δραχμὰς)] δεκάδνο, ἔξομεν δὲ εἰς τὴν τοῦ[των] ἀνα-  
 γωγὴν καὶ κα-  
 15 [τερ]γασίαν ἀτέλειαν ἔ[τ]ῃ τρία ἀπὸ τοῦ [εἰσιόντος] μδ (ἔτους) Καίσαρος  
 . . . . .

5. 1. ἀνειλημμένων; so in l. 7.

‘To Gaius Seppius Rufus from Polemon son of Tryphon and Archelaus son of . . . We wish to purchase in the Oxyrhynchite nome of the Crown land returned as unproductive up to the . . . year of Caesar, from the holdings which were confiscated in the . . . year of Caesar and became unfruitful and the holdings confiscated up to and including the . . . year of Caesar, exclusive of temple land, for cultivation in the coming 44th year of Caesar—namely Polemon at Thosbis and Tepouis in the upper toparchy fifteen arourae, total 15 arourae, and Archelaus at . . . in the toparchy of Thmoisepho, four arourae, total 4 arourae, total 19 arourae, with the understanding that on these being assigned to us we shall pay into the local State-bank the price ordered for each aroura, 12 drachmae of silver, and shall have for their reclamation and cultivation immunity from taxation for three years from the coming 44th year of Caesar . . .’

1. For Seppius Rufus cf. Wessely, *Pap. Script. Graec. Specim.* no. 8, and P. Brit. Mus. 276, which shows that he was of higher rank than strategus.

4. ὑπολόγου βασιλικῆς: ὑπόλογος and τὸ ὑπόλογον are terms frequently used in the Tebtunis papyri to describe Crown land out of cultivation; cf. P. Tebt. I. p. 540. The only other example of this use of the word in the Roman period is P. Amh. 68.

4-5. [κλήρων] . . . ἀνειλλημένων: cf. P. Tebt. I. 61 (δ). 74 &c. and P. Amh. 68. 18, which can now be restored on the analogy of the present passage κλήρων . . . ἀνε[ι]λημμένων καὶ ἀφόρων καὶ (?) . . . των (perhaps ἀχρήστων) γε[γ]ονότων.

7. πλὴν ἱερᾶς is apparently to be connected with ὠνήσασθαι rather than ἀνειλημμένων.



The saleable land *ὑπολόγον βασιλικῆς* is regarded as including both the confiscated *κλήροι* and certain *ιερά γῆ* which must also have reverted to the government.

12. *παραδειχθέντες ταύτας* : cf. P. Amh. 68. 20, where *παραδειχθεῖς [ταύ]τας* is no doubt to be read, P. Tebt. 79. 16, &c.

13. *τὴν κεκε[λευσμένην τιμὴν* : cf. P. Amh. 68. 20 *τὴν κ[ελευσθεῖσα]ν τιμὴν ὑπὸ Λουκίου Ἰουλίου [Ο]ὔρησ[τείνου το]ῦ ἡγεμόν[ου]*.

14-5. The supplements are taken from P. Amh. 68. 21. Other conditions on the lines of P. Amh. 68 presumably followed. 835 concludes *ἀξίω ἐπιστεῖλαι? . . .]* καὶ τοῖς γραμματεῦσι ἐκδόσθαι μοι τοῦ[ς . . . περὶ ταύ]τας χρηματισμούς, and something of this kind apparently underlies P. Amh. 68. 23-4.

## 722. EMANCIPATION OF A SLAVE.

24.3 × 10 cm.

A.D. 91 or 107.

This document, which contains a formal emancipation of a female slave, drawn up before the agoranomi and concluding with an acknowledgement of the ransom, is of great interest as being the first specimen of its class from Egypt which is prior to the introduction of the *constitutio Antonina*, and illustrating the differences between Graeco-Egyptian and Roman law on the subject of manumission. Of the two previously known parallels, B. G. U. 96, which is a mere fragment, belongs to the third century and the Papyrus Edmondstone (facsimile in Young's *Hieroglyphics*, ii, Plate 46; text in Curtius, *Anec. Delph.* App. 1, Wessely, *Fahresber. des k. k. Staatsgym. in Hernals*, xiii, pp. 47-8) to A. D. 354. Since the publications of the latter papyrus are somewhat inaccessible, we append the text of it on p. 202. Other papyri concerning the emancipation of slaves are 716, 723, a similar but much shorter example of a second century manumission, 48-9 and 349, which are letters to the agoranomi authorizing them to liberate slaves. The ends of lines are lost throughout 722, but can in part be restored either from the context or from a comparison with another and quite complete specimen of an emancipation, written in the reign of Commodus, which we opportunely found in January, 1904. The most striking feature of 722 is the circumstance that it is concerned, not with the emancipation of an individual whose status was entirely that of a slave, but with a joint manumission by two brothers of the third part of a slave who as regards the other two-thirds had already been made free; cf. the parallel case in 716 and, as it now appears, in P. Edmondstone 6. That the previous owner of the  $\frac{2}{3}$  was a different person from the two owners of the  $\frac{1}{3}$  is not stated directly but is in the light of 716 likely enough. It is also noticeable that the

ransom is paid, not by the slave herself or by a banker, but by a private individual, perhaps her prospective husband, and that a distinction is drawn between the λύτρα paid to the owner and a small sum in silver which probably went to the State ; cf. note on l. 19.

- Ἔτους δεκάτου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Δομιτιανοῦ  
 Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Ὑπερβερεταίου  
 ἐπαγο(μένων) (2nd hand) 5 Σεβα(στῇ) (1st hand) μη(νός) Καισαρείου  
 ἐ[παγο(μένων) (2nd hand) 5 Σεβα(στῇ) (1st hand) ἐν Ὁ-  
 ξυρύγχων πόλει τῆς Θηβαίδος ἐπ' ἀγορανό-  
 5 μων Ψαμμίων τριῶν [   
 ἀφείκαν ἐ{υ}λευθέραν ὑπὸ Δία Γ[ῆν] Ἥλιον Ἀχιλλεὺς  
 ὥς (ἐτῶν) 5 μέσος μελίχρως μακροπρόσωπος  
 [οὐ(λῇ) μ]ετώπῳ μέσῳ καὶ Σαραπ[ᾶς ὥς (ἐτῶν) . μέσος  
 [μ]ε[λ]ίχρως μακροπρόσωπος οὐ(λῇ) . . . . .  
 10 [. . ἀ]ριστερ[. ἀμ]φότεροι . . . . . τοῦ  
 Ἀμ[μ]ωνίου μητρὸς Σαραποῦτος [. . . . .  
 [τῶ]ν ἀπ' Ὁξυρύγχων πόλεως [ἐν ἀγνιᾷ τὸ ὑ-  
 [πάρ]χον αὐτοῖς ἐξ ἴσου τρίτον μέ[ρος τῆς ἐξαπη-  
 [λευ]θερωμένης κατὰ τὸ ἄλλο δι[ί]μοιρον δού-  
 15 λης Ἀπολλωνοῦτος ὥς (ἐτῶν) 5 μέσ[ης μελίχρωτος  
 [μα]κροπροσώπου οὐλή ποδὶ δι[ε]ξιῶ . . . . .  
 ἐξαπηλευθερωμένης (ταλάντων) δι[. . . . .  
 [. .]ν τῶν τοῦ ἀπελευθερουμέ[νου . . . . τρίτου  
 [μέρου]ς ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου δρα[χμῶν . . . . .  
 20 [τ]ε[τ]ρωβόλου καὶ ὧν τέτακται [. . . Ἀχιλλεῖ  
 καὶ Σαραπᾶ Ἡρακλᾶς Τρύφωνος τοῦ . . . . .  
 μητρὸς Ταοννώφριος Πανεσι[. . . . ἀπὸ τῆς  
 [α]ὐτῆς πόλεως ὥς (ἐτῶν) 5 λα μέσο[ς μελίχρως  
 μακροπρόσωπος οὐ(λῇ) ὑπὲρ γό(νυ) δεξι[ὸν λύτρων  
 25 ἀργυρίου Σεβαστοῦ νομίσμα[τος δραχμῶν  
 διακοσίων χαλκοῦ ταλάντων]ν . . . . .  
 χιλίων, οὐκ ἐξόντος τῷ Ἀχ[ιλλεῖ οὐδ' ἄλλῳ  
 [ὑ]πὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀπαίτησιν ποιε[ῖσθαι παρὰ τῆς Ἀπολ-  
 [λ]ωνοῦτος οὐδὲ τῶν π[α]ρ' αὐτῆς τῶν προκει-

- 30 [μ]ένων λύτρων οὐδ' ἐπιε[. . . . .  
 γνωστήρ τῆς ἐλευθερώ[σεως . . . . .  
 τοῦ Πετεήσιος μητρὸς [. . . . . ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς  
 πόλεως ὡς (ἐτῶν) μ μ[έσος μελίχρως μακρο-  
 πρόσωπος οὐ(λῆ) ἀντικ[νημίῳ . . . . . ἐν ἀγνιᾷ  
 35 τῇ αὐτῇ. (2nd hand) Ἀχιλλ[εὺς . . . . .  
 πεπύημε σ[ὺν τῷ ἀδελφῷ  
 Σεραπάτι τῇ[ν ἐλευθέρωσιν  
 τοῦ τρίτου [μέρους δούλης  
 Ἀπολλωνοῦτ[ος καὶ ἀπέχω  
 40 τὰ λύτρα ἀ[ργυρίου δραχ(μὰς)  
 διακοσία[s χαλκοῦ  
 [. . .]υ[  
 . . . . .

On the verso

ἐπαγο(μένων) 5 [

16. π of ποδι corr. from δ.

36. l. πεποίημαι.

39. l. Ἀπολλωνοῦτ[ος.

'The 10th year of the Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus, on the 6th intercalary day of Hyperberetaeus, dies Augustus, which is the 6th intercalary day of the month Caesarius, dies Augustus, at Oxyrhynchus in the Thebaid, before three agoranomi called Psammis, Achilleus, aged about 20 years, of middle height, fair, having a long face and a scar on the middle of his forehead, and Sarapas, aged about . . . years, of middle height, fair, having a long face and a scar on his left . . . , both sons of . . . son of Ammonius, their mother being Sarapous daughter of . . . , all of Oxyrhynchus, have set free under sanction of Zeus, Earth, and Sun (the deed being drawn up in the street) the third part which they jointly own of the slave who has been freed as regards the other two-thirds, Apollonous, aged about 26, of middle height, fair, having a long face and a scar on the right foot, . . . for . . . drachmae 4 obols of coined silver and the ransom paid to Achilleus and Sarapas by Heraclas son of Tryphon son of . . . , his mother being Taonnophris daughter of . . . of the said city, aged about 31, of middle height, fair, having a long face and a scar above his right knee, namely 200 drachmae of Imperial silver coin and . . . talents 1000 drachmae of copper; Achilleus or any one else on his behalf being forbidden to make any demand of the aforesaid ransom from Apollonous or her assigns, or to . . . The certifier of the manumission is . . . son of Peteësis, his mother being . . . , of the said city, aged about 40, of middle height, fair, having a long face and a scar upon his . . . shin, in the same street.

'I, Achilleus, have with my brother Sarapas effected the emancipation of the third part of the slave Apollonous, and I have received the ransom, two hundred drachmae of silver . . .'



1. Since the papyrus must on palaeographical grounds be assigned to the end of the first or the early part of the second century, the coincidence of a 6th intercalary day with the 10th year of an emperor called Germanicus fixes the reign as that of either Domitian or Trajan. The supplement at the end of l. 1 is in any case long compared with the 10 letters which are missing in l. 2, and Domitian is therefore preferable.

6. Cf. the similar beginning of P. Edmondst. 6 sqq. For Δία Γ[ῆν] ἥλιον, cf. 48. 6, &c.

12. ἐν ἀγνιᾷ is supplied from the newly found emancipation (cf. introd.); cf. ἐν ἀγνιᾷ τῇ αὐτῇ in ll. 34-5. We are inclined to think that this formula, which so far is only known at Oxyrhynchus, regularly implies the execution of the document before the agoranomi, who are mentioned much less frequently in Oxyrhynchus contracts than elsewhere.

16-9. The newly found emancipation proceeds straight from the description of the slave to the mention of the ἀργύριον ἐπίσημον corresponding to l. 19, and owing to the lacunae it is not clear whether the sum mentioned in l. 17 is the ransom of the whole slave or of the  $\frac{2}{3}$  previously set free. On the whole we think the latter hypothesis is more likely. The talents are in either case probably copper.

19. ἀργυρίου ἐπίσημον: the newly found emancipation has ἀργ. ἐπισ. δραχμῶν δέκα καὶ ὧν τέτακται ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ (sc. the slave) τῷ Θέωνι (the owner) . . . λύτρων ἀργ. δραχ. πεντακοσίων, on the analogy of which we have supplied λύτρων in l. 24. It is clear from that papyrus that a distinction was drawn between the payment in ἀργύριον ἐπίσημον and the ransom paid to the owner, and from 48 and 49 in which the same amount of ἀργύριον ἐπίσημον, 10 drachmae, is coupled with different sums expressed in copper, there would seem to have been a normal charge of 10 drachmae in addition to the ransom, in spite of 722. 19-20, where the amount of ἀργ. ἐπισ. cannot be 10 drachmae. The divergence of 722 at this point may be due to the fact that it is concerned with the emancipation of only part of a slave. To whom these 10 drachmae were paid is not made clear, but it is probable that the State in some form was the recipient. Nowhere in connexion with these emancipations under Graeco-Egyptian law is there a mention of the *vicesima libertatis* levied under Roman law, which appears in B. G. U. 96. 8 (τὴν [εἰσ]θυσίαν εἰκοστήν); but if, as we are now disposed to think, the status of the persons who wrote 48-9 was that of farmers of the ἐγκύκλιον and 48-9 stand towards such documents as 722 in the same kind of relation as 241-3 towards contracts for sale or mortgage, there must have been a tax upon the emancipation of slaves apart from the 10 drachmae ἀργυρίου ἐπίσημον.

## PAPYRUS EDMONDSTONE.

A.D. 354.

ειπὼ( ) ὑπατε[ία]ς τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου Αὐγούστου τὸ ζ καὶ Κωνσταντίου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ γ

Τῦβι ιζ τῆς ιγ ἰνδικτίονος, ἐν Ἐλεφαντίνῃ[ς] πόλει τῆς ἁνῶ Θηβαίδος.

Αὐρηλία Τηρουτήρου Πασμῆτος μητρὸς Τσενπαχνούμεως ἀπὸ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλεως μετὰ συνεστῶτ[ο]ς

[τ]οῦ κυρίου αὐτῆς ἀνδρὸς Αὐρηλίου Δωροθέου Σερήνου ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως Αὐρηλίῳ Σαραπάμμωνι

5 μητρὸς Ταπαμῶνος καὶ Τκαλῆτι ἐκ μητρὸς Θαήσιος καὶ (τ)ῇ ταύτῃ(ς) θυγατρὶ Αὐρηλίᾳ Δουσίᾳ γενομένοι(ς)

μοι δούλοι(ς) ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐπιβάλλοντος μέρους χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ ἐκουσίως καὶ αὐθαιρέτως καὶ ἀμετανοήτως ἀφικένοι ὑμᾶς ἐλευθέρους τοῦ ἐπιβάλλοντος μοι μέρους ὑπὸ Γῆν καὶ Οὐρανὸν κατ' εὐσεβίαν

τ[ο]ῦ πανελεήμονος Θεοῦ ἐλθόντος εἰς ἐμὲ ἀπὸ κληρονομίας τῆς μητρὸς μου ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον

καὶ ἀνθ' ὧν ἐνεδείξωσθέ μοι κατὰ χρόνον εὐνοίας καὶ στοργῆς ἔτι τε καὶ ὑπηρεσίας. ρεπεσθε  
οὖν ὑμᾶς  
10 κατὰ τ[ὸ] προκείμενόν μου μέρος καθὼς προείπον καὶ νέμεσθε εἰς οὓς ἂν βούλητε τόπους  
ἀκωλύτως  
καὶ ἀνεπιλήμπτως, εὐδοκεῖν γὰρ καὶ πείθεσθαι ἐμὲ τὴν ἐλευθεροῦντα τοῖς ἐλευθερουμένοις εἰς  
τὴνδε [τ]ὴν ἐλευθέρωσιν ἦκειν τοῖς ἐλευθερουμένοις καθὼς προδεδήλoutαι καὶ τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν  
ἐσομέν[ο]ις εἴτε ἐπὶ θηλείοις τέκνοις εἴτε ἐπὶ ἑτέροις ἐκγόνοις· μήτε μὴν οἷς ἂν κτήσησθε τρό(πῳ)  
μη[δενὶ] παρενρέσει μηδεμιᾷ ἐντεῦθεν ἀκώλυτον ἔσται τῆς δουλείας, καὶ μὴ ἔξεσται δὲ μηδενὶ τῶν  
15 ἐμῶν κληρονόμων ἀπαξ ἀπλῶς ἀντιλέγειν μου ταύτῃ τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ περὶ μηδενὸς κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον  
ἐκ μηδεμιᾶς ἀφορμῆς τῷ καθόλου δι' ἣν καὶ αὐτοὶ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐνέδειξάν μοι εὐνοίαν καὶ  
φιλοστοργίαν,  
κα[ὶ] αὐτὴ ἀμοιβόμενος τὰς ἀμοιβὰς ἐκὼν καὶ πεπισμένη ἦκον εἰς τὴνδε τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἥπερ  
ἐθέμην κυρίαν καὶ βεβαίαν ἀπλὴν γραφείσαν πανταχοῦ ἐπιφερομένην ἐφ' ὑπογραφῆς ἐμοῦ Δωρο-  
θέου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς πρὸς αἰωνίαν ὑμῶν ἀσφάλειαν, καὶ ἐπερωτηθείσα ὡμολόγησα.  
20 (2nd hand) Αὐρηλία Τηρουτήρου Πασμήτος ἡ προκειμένη ἐθέμην τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ εὐδοκῶ  
πᾶσι τοῖς ἐγγεγραμμένοις  
ὥς πρόκειται. Αὐρήλιος Δωρόθεος Σερήνου ὁ προγεγραμμένος ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς συνέστην τῇ γυναικί  
μου καὶ ἔγραψα  
ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς γράμματα μὴ εἰδηίης. (3rd hand) Αὐρήλιος Τινισαεῖς Ἀμμωνᾶτος μαρτυρῶ.  
(4th hand) Αὐρήλιος Ἀμμωνίου  
Σωκράτους μαρτυρῶ. (5th hand) Αὐρήλιος Φιτουσίας Ἀντωνίου μαρτυρῶ. (6th hand) Αὐ-  
ρήλιος Κύριλλος Πασιῶν μαρτυρῶ.  
(7th hand) Αὐρήλιος Τιμόθεος Ἀπολλωνίου ἀπὸ προεστώτων Ἐλεφαντίνης μαρτυρῶ.

5. Τκαλήτι: or perhaps Τηαλήψι. 6. 1. μου for μοι. 9. 1. ἐνεδείξασθε. Final ε of  
ρεπεσθε corr. from α; 1. (τ)ρέπεσθαι? 10. 1. νέμεσθαι . . . βούλησθε. 11. 1. ἐλευθεροῦσαν.  
12. 1. προδεδήλωται. 16. 1. ἐνέδειξαν. 17. 1. ἀμειβομένη. 22. 1. εἰδυίας . . . Ἀμμώνιος.  
Τινισθεῖς can be read for Τινισαεῖς.

## 723. EMANCIPATION OF A SLAVE.

17.3 × 21.2 cm.

A.D. 138–161.

This document, recording the formal emancipation of a female slave, follows the same formula as 722, but is simpler and more compressed. A good deal is lost at the beginnings of the lines, including, unfortunately, the details concerning the *λύτρα*; but a comparison with 722 renders the general sense clear enough. Cf. the introd. to that papyrus.

1 [Ἔτους Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνίνου Σε]-  
βαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς (2nd hand) Δύστρου α Τῦβι α (1st hand) ἐν  
Ὁξυρύγχων πόλει τῆς Θηβαίδος

- 2 ἐπ' ἀγορανόμων ἀφείκεν ἐλευθέραν ὑπὸ Δία Γῆν "Ἡλιον ] Διο-  
 δώρου τοῦ Ἀγαθείνου μητρὸς Τσεεὶ Θεώνος Ἑρακλείδου
- 3 30 letters ἀπ' Ὁξυρύγχων πόλεως ἐν ἀγνιᾷ τῇ]ν ὑπάρχ[ου]σαν αὐτῷ  
 οἰκογενῇ ἐκ δούλης Δημητροῦτος
- 4 δούλην 50 letters ]δε . . [. γν]ωστήρ τῆς ἐλευθερώσεως Σαραπίων  
 Ἀσκληπιάδου
- 5 55 letters (2nd hand) ὡς] (ἐτῶν) ν ρ[ύλῃ] ποδ(ὶ) ἀριστ(ερῷ) (1st hand)  
 ἐν ἀγνιᾷ τῇ αὐτῇ (2nd hand) διὰ Χαιρήμ(ονος) τοῦ σὺν ἄλ(λοις)
- 6 50 letters ]

1. θηβαῖδος Pap. 3. ὑπαρχουσιν Pap. 5. αγνία Pap.

2. τοῦ seems to have been omitted before Ἑρακλείδου. The name Τσεεὶ occurs also in 76. 5 μητρὸς Τσεεὶ Καλλίου.

4. The vestiges following ]δε possibly represent the γν of γνωστήρ, the intervening space being accounted for by the junction at this point of two selides. Shorter blank spaces have been left in the corresponding part of the two preceding lines. In that case ἔστιν] δε γνωστήρ should be read; but the traces do not suit γν particularly well, and there is no ἔστιν δε in 496. 16 where a γνωστήρ is mentioned at the end of a contract. A description of the slave and perhaps the amount of the λύτρα were given at the beginning of this line (cf. 722. 15 sqq.); but ] δέκα is not a possible reading.

5. After σὺν ἄλ(λοις) the papyrus not improbably proceeded ἐπὶ τῆς ἐγκυκλίου; cf. 96. 2 (corr. by Wilcken) ὁ σὺν ἄλ(λοις) ἐπὶ τῇ(ς) ἐγκυκλ[ί]ου. This restoration would accord very well with our present explanation of the position occupied by the writers of 48 and 49 (cf. 722. 19, note); but what exactly διὰ implies here is uncertain.

## 724. APPRENTICESHIP TO A SHORTHAND-WRITER.

18.3 × 21.3 cm.

A.D. 155.

Contract whereby an ex-cosmetes of Oxyrhynchus apprenticed his slave to a shorthand-writer for two years to be taught to read and write shorthand, the teacher receiving 120 drachmae in all. The contract was drawn up by an unprofessional scribe, and the language is often confused.

Πα[ν]εχώτης ὁ καὶ Πανάρης τῶν κεκοσμητευκότων τῆς Ὁξυρυγχειῶν  
 πόλεως διὰ Γεμέλλου φίλου Ἀπολλωνίῳ σημιογράφῳ χαίρειν. συνέστησά σοι  
 Χαιράμμωνα δοῦλον πρὸς μάθησιν σημείων ὧν ἐπίσταται ὁ υἱός σου  
 Δι[ο]νύσιος ἐπὶ χρόνον ἔτη δύο ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος μηνὸς Φαμενώθ τοῦ



- 5 ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου ἔτους Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου μισθοῦ τοῦ συμπεφω  
νημένου πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι χωρὶς ἑορτι-  
κῶν, ἐξ ὧν ἔσχεις τὴν πρώτην δόσιν ἐν δραγμαῖς τεσσαράκοντα, τὴν δὲ  
δευτέραν λήψῃ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀνειληφότος τὸ κομεντάρ[ι]ον ὅλον ἐν δρα-  
χ[μ]αῖς τεσσαράκοντα, τὴν δὲ τρίτην λήψομαι ἐπὶ τέλει τοῦ χρόνου τοῦ  
10 παιδὸς ἐκ παντὸς λόγου περὶ γράφοντος καὶ ἀναγινώσκον[τος] ἀμέμπτως  
τὰς {δὲ} λοιπὰς δραχμὰς τεσσαράκοντα. ἐὰν δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ χ[ρ]όνου αὐτὸν  
ἀπαρτίσῃς οὐκ ἐκδέξομαι τὴν προκειμένην προθεσμ[ί]αν, οὐκ ἐξόντος  
μοι ἐντὸς τοῦ χρόνου τὸν παῖδα ἀποσπᾶν, παραμενεῖ δέ σ[ο]ι μετὰ [τὸ]ν χρό[νον]  
ὅσας  
ἐὰν ἀργήσῃ ἡμέρας ἢ μῆνας. (ἔτους) ιη Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τίτου  
Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ  
15 Ἀντωνείνου Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς Φαμενώθ ε.

3. σ of σου corr. from μ.      7. χ of δραχμαῖς corr. from γ.      9. l. λήψει.      12.  
ξ of ἐκδέξομαι corr. from χ.      14. η of ἡμερας rewritten.

‘Panechotes also called Panares, ex-cosmetes of Oxyrhynchus, through his friend Gemellus, to Apollonius, writer of shorthand, greeting. I have placed with you my slave Chaerammon to be taught the signs which your son Dionysius knows, for a period of two years dating from the present month Phamenoth of the 18th year of Antoninus Caesar the lord at the salary agreed upon between us, 120 silver drachmae, not including feast-days; of which sum you have received the first instalment amounting to 40 drachmae, and you will receive the second instalment consisting of 40 drachmae when the boy has learnt the whole system, and the third you will receive at the end of the period when the boy writes fluently in every respect and reads faultlessly, viz. the remaining 40 drachmae. If you make him perfect within the period, I will not wait for the aforesaid limit; but it is not lawful for me to take the boy away before the end of the period, and he shall remain with you after the expiration of it for as many days or months as he may have done no work. The 18th year of the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Phamenoth 5.’

6. χωρὶς ἑορτικῶν: sc. ἡμερῶν (cf. 725. 36–7), though the phrase is out of place.

8. κομεντάρ[ι]ον: a Graecized form of *commentarium* seems to be intended, though the doubtful μ is more like λ.

11–3. The clause οὐκ ἐξόντος κ.τ.λ., which is regularly found in contracts of apprenticeship (cf. e. g. 725. 53–6), comes in somewhat awkwardly here after the clause ἐὰν δὲ ἐντὸς κ.τ.λ. The meaning is that if the boy was perfect in less than two years, his owner would not insist on his staying with the teacher unless the teacher wished to keep him, but the boy’s owner was prevented from taking him away before the boy was perfect and so evading the payment of the second and third instalments.

## 725. APPRENTICESHIP TO A WEAVER.

30.7 x 11 cm.

A.D. 183.

A contract between Ischyron and Heraclas, in which the former apprentices to the latter a boy called Thonis, probably the ward of Ischyron, for five years, to be taught the trade of weaving. Arrangements are made for the provision of wages (after two years and seven months) and clothes for Thonis by Heraclas on an ascending scale, and for the case of Thonis' absence from his work for more than the 20 days allowed for holidays. Cf. 275, a similar contract with a weaver written 120 years previously, upon which the supplements in ll. 1-5 are based.

[Ὁμολογοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις Ἰσ]χυρίων Ἡραδίωνος  
 [μητρὸς . . . . . ἀπ' Ὀξυ]ρύγχων πόλεως καὶ  
 [Ἡρακλᾶς Σαραπίωνος τοῦ καὶ Λέοντος Ἡρακλεί-  
 δ[ο]υ μ[ητρὸς . . . . . ἀπὸ] τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως  
 5 [γέρ]διο[ς ὁ μὲν Ἰσχυρίων ἐγ]δεδῶσθαι τῷ Ἡρα-  
 [κλᾶ] τὸν τοῦ . . . . .] . . . . . ἀδελφοῦ  
 . . . . . ὄν Θῶν[ιν ἀ]φήλ[ικα π]ρὸς [μ]άθησιν τῆς δη-  
 λ[ο]υμένης [τέ]χνης ἀπὸ νεομη[νίας τοῦ] ἐξῆς  
 μ[η]νὸς Φαῶφ[ι] ἐπὶ χρόνον ἔτη πέ[ντε, κ]αὶ παρ-  
 10 ἐξεί αὐτὸν προσεδρεύοντα τῷ διδασκάλῳ  
 ἐπὶ τὸν δηλο[ύμε]νον χρ[ό]νον καθ' ἐκάστην  
 ἡμέραν ἀπὸ ἀν[ατολῆς] ἡ[λίου] μέχρι δύσεως,  
 ποιῶντα πάντ[α τὰ ἐπιταχθ]ησόμενα [αὐτῷ]  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ διδασκάλου ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοί-  
 15 ων μαθητῶν, [τρέφόμε]νον ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰσχυ-  
 [ρί]ωνος. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἔτη δύο  
 καὶ μῆνας ἑπτὰ τοῦ τρίτου ἐνιαυτοῦ  
 οὐδὲν δώσει ὑπὲρ μισθοῦ τοῦ παιδὸς ὁ Ἡρα-  
 κλᾶς, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς μηνὶ πέντε τοῦ αὐ-  
 20 τοῦ τρίτου ἐνιαυτοῦ χορηγήσει ὁ Ἡρα-  
 κλᾶς ὑπὲρ μισθῶν τοῦ αὐτοῦ μαθητοῦ  
 κατὰ μῆνα δραχμὰς δεκάδυο κ[αὶ] τῷ τε-

- τάρτῳ ἐνιαυτῷ ὁμοίως κατὰ μῆνα  
 ὑπὲρ μισθῶν δραχμὰς δεκάεξ καὶ τῷ  
 25 πέμπτῳ ἐνιαυτῷ ὁμοίως κατὰ μῆ-  
 να δραχμὰς εἴκοσι τέσσαρας, καὶ κατασκευ-  
 ἀσει ὁ Ἡρακλᾶς τῷ αὐτῷ μαθητῇ τῷ μὲν  
 ἐνεστῶτι τετάρτῳ καὶ εἰκοστῷ ἔτει  
 χ[ι]τῶνα ἄξιον δραχμῶν δεκάεξ, τῷ [δὲ  
 30 ἰσιόντι κε (ἔτει) ἕτερον χιτῶνα ἄξιον δ[ρα-  
 χμῶν εἴκοσι, καὶ [τ]ῷ κς (ἔτει) ὁμοίως ἄλλο[ν  
 χιτῶ[ν]α ἄξιον δραχμῶν εἴ[κ]οσι τε[σσάρων,  
 κ[α]ὶ τῷ κς (ἔτει) ἄλλον χιτῶνα [ἄ]ξιον δ[ραχμῶν  
 εἴκοσι ὀκτώ, καὶ τῷ κη (ἔτει) ὁμοίως ἄλλ[ον] χιτῶ-  
 35 να ἄξιον δραχμῶν τριάκοντα δύο. ἀρ-  
 γήσει δὲ ὁ παῖς εἰς λόγον ἐορτῶν κατ' ἔτος  
 ἡμέρας εἴκοσι, οὐδενὸς ἐκκρουομένου  
 τ[ῷ]ν μισθῶν τούτων ἀφ' οὗ χρόνου ἔαν  
 χορηγηθῇ μισθός, ἔαν δὲ πλείονας τού-  
 40 τῶν ἀργήσῃ [ἢ ἀσ]θενήσῃ ἢ ἀτακτήσῃ ἢ  
 δι' ἄλλην τιν[ὰ αἰ]τίαν ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τὰς  
 [ἵσ]ας ἐπάναγκε[ς] παρέξει αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰσχυρί-  
 ων τῷ διδασκά[λ]ῳ ἡμέρας παραμένον-  
 τα καὶ ποιοῦντ[α] πάντα καθὼς πρόκειται  
 45 χωρὶς μισθοῦ, τρεφόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ  
 Ἰσχυρίωνος, διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐστάσθαι.  
 ὁ [δ]ὲ Ἡρακλᾶς εὐδοκῶν τούτοις πᾶσι καὶ ἐκ  
 δειδάξειν τὸν μαθητὴν τὴν δηλουμέ-  
 νην τέχνην ἐν τῷ πενταετὶ χρόνῳ  
 50 καθὼς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπίσταται καὶ χορηγήσειν  
 τοὺς μηνιαίους μισθοὺς καθὼς πρόκει-  
 τα[ι] ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀγδόου μηνὸς τοῦ τρίτου ἐνιαυ-  
 τοῦ. καὶ μὴ ἐξεῖναι μηδενὶ αὐτῶν παρα-  
 βαίνειν τι τῶν προκειμένων ἢ ὁ παραβὰς  
 55 ἐκτείσι τῷ ἐνμένοντι ἐπιτείμου δραχμὰς  
 ἑκατὸν καὶ εἰς τὸ δημόσιον τὰς ἴσας. κύριον  
 τὸ ὁμολόγημα. (ἔτους) κδ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος



Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου Ἀντωνίνου  
 Σεβαστοῦ Ἀρμενιοῦ Μηδικοῦ Παρθικοῦ  
 60 Σαρματικοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου Θῶθ κε.

2nd hand Ἡρακλᾶς Σαραπ(ίωνος) τοῦ κ(αὶ) Λέοντος τέθειμαι τὸ  
 ὁμολόγημα καὶ εὐδοκῶ πᾶσι τοῖς προκ(ειμένοις).  
 Θῶνις ὁ κ(αὶ) Μωροῦς Ἀρθώνιος ἔγραψ[α  
 ὑπὲρ αὐ(τοῦ) μὴ εἰδ(ότος) γράμμ(ατα).

16. τ of ετη corr. from ξ. 30. ἴσιοντι Pap. 34. ἀλλ[ον above the line. 35.  
 ξι of αξιον corr. from δο. 52. ογδοου corr 56. ἴσας Pap. 63. s of μωρους  
 rewritten (?).

‘Ischyriion son of Heradion and . . ., of Oxyrhynchus, and Heraclas son of Sarapion also called Leon, son of Heraclides, his mother being . . ., of the said city, weaver, agree with each other as follows:—Ischyriion on the one part that he has apprenticed to Heraclas . . . Thonis, a minor, to be taught the art of weaving for a period of five years starting from the 1st of next month, Phaophi, and will produce him to attend the teacher for the stipulated period every day from sunrise to sunset, performing all the orders that may be given to him by the said teacher on the same terms as the other apprentices, and being fed by Ischyriion. For the first 2 years and 7 months of the 3rd year Heraclas shall pay nothing for the boy’s wages, but in the remaining 5 months of the said 3rd year Heraclas shall pay for the wages of the said apprentice 12 drachmae a month, and in the 4th year likewise for wages 16 drachmae a month, and in the 5th year likewise 24 drachmae a month; and Heraclas shall furnish for the said apprentice in the present 24th year a tunic worth 16 drachmae, and in the coming 25th year a second tunic worth 20 drachmae, and likewise in the 26th year another tunic worth 24 drachmae, and in the 27th year another tunic worth 28 drachmae, and likewise in the 28th year another tunic worth 32 drachmae. The boy shall have 20 holidays in the year on account of festivals without any deduction from his wages after the payment of wages begins; but if he exceeds this number of days from idleness or ill-health or disobedience or any other reason, Ischyriion must produce him for the teacher during an equivalent number of days, during which he shall remain and perform all his duties, as aforesaid, without wages, being fed by the said Ischyriion, because the contract has been made on these terms. Heraclas on the other part consents to all these provisions, and agrees to instruct the apprentice in the aforesaid art within the period of 5 years as thoroughly as he knows it himself, and to pay the monthly wages as above, beginning with the 8th month of the 3rd year. Neither party is permitted to violate any of the aforesaid provisions, the penalty for such violation being a fine of 100 drachmae to the party abiding by the contract and to the Treasury an equal sum. This agreement is valid. The 24th year of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Augustus Armeniacus Medicus Parthicus Sarmaticus Germanicus Maximus, Thoth 25. I, Heraclas son of Sarapion also called Leon, have made this contract and consent to all the aforesaid provisions. I, Thonis also called Morous, son of Harthonis, wrote for him as he was illiterate.’

## 726. APPOINTMENT OF A REPRESENTATIVE.

20 X 9.2 cm.

A.D. 135.

This is an agreement by which Apollonius authorizes another person to appear for him in some legal proceedings in which he was concerned, being prevented by illness from attending in person; cf. 97 and 261, which are contracts of the same kind. The document is incomplete, the name of the representative and the date not having been filled in.

<p>Ἔτους ἑννεακαιδεκάτου Αὐτοκράτορος          Καίσαρος Τρα[ι]ανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ          Σεβαστοῦ Τῦβ[ι] ἐν Ὁξυρύγ-          χων πόλει τῆς Θηβαίδος. ὁμο-          5 λογεί Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλων[ί]ου          τοῦ Δι[ο]γένους μητρὸς Τανεχω-          ταρίου τῆς [καὶ] Εὐτέρπης Διογέ-          νους ἀπ' Ὁξυρύγχων πόλεως</p> <p>ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως, ἐν ἀγνιᾷ,          10 οὐ δυνάμενος δι' ἀ[σ]θένειαν          πλεῦσαι ἐπὶ [τ]ὸν τοῦ νομοῦ</p>	<p>διαλογισμ[ό]ν, αὐτόθεν συν-          εστακέναι τὸν          τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λόγον ποιησό-          15 μενον περὶ τῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν          ζητηθησομέ[ν]ων ἐπὶ τε τοῦ          κρατίστου ἡγεμ[ό]νος Περωνίου          [Μαμ]ερτείνου καὶ τοῦ ἐπιστρατή-          [γο]ν Γελλίου Βά[σ]σου ἢ κ[α]ὶ ἐφ' ἐτέ-          20 ρων κριτῶν κ[αὶ] πάντα ἐπιτελέ-          σοντα περὶ τῶν [κ]ατὰ τὴν σύστασιν,          εὐδοκεῖ γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτοις.          [κυρία ἢ ὁμολο]γία.</p>
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'The 19th year of the Emperor Caesar Trajanus Hadrianus Augustus, Tubi , at Oxyrhynchus in the Thebaid. Apollonius son of Apollonius son of Diogenes, his mother being Tanechotarion also called Euterpe, daughter of Diogenes, of Oxyrhynchus, acknowledges to , of the said city (the contract taking place in the street), since he is unable through sickness to make the voyage to the assize of the nome, that he has forthwith appointed to represent him in the inquiry to be held against him before his highness the praefect Petronius Mamertinus or the epistrategus Gellius Bassus or other judges, and to carry out everything concerned with the trial; for he gives his consent on these terms. The agreement is valid.'

10. δι' ἀ[σ]θένειαν: cf. 261. 12 διὰ γυναικείαν ἀσθένειαν.

14. τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ: so no doubt in 97. 3; the word after Νικάνορα there is perhaps a patronymic.

19. Γελλίου Βά[σ]σου: Bassus is mentioned as epistrategus seven years earlier in 237. vii. 22.

I[.]r[.]m[.] .]ei Ἰσι[δ]ώρου γενομένου ἐξηγητοῦ υἱῷ  
γενομένῳ στρατηγῷ τῆς πόλεως ἰερεὶ ἀρχιδικαστῇ  
καὶ πρὸς τῇ ἐπιμ[ε]λίᾳ τῶν χρηματιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων  
κριτηρ[ί]ων διὰ [Δ]ημητρίου Ἡρακλείδου γενομένου  
5 ἐξηγγ[τ]οῦ υἱῷ διέπ[οντ]ι τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχιδικαστείαν  
παρὰ Γαίων Μαρκίων Ἀπίωνος τοῦ καὶ Διο-  
γέν[ου]ς καὶ Ἀπολιναρίου τοῦ καὶ Ἰουλιανοῦ καὶ ὥς  
χρηματίζομεν καὶ παρὰ Ὠφελᾶ τοῦ Ὠφελᾶτος τῶν  
ἀπ' Ὀ[ξ]υρύνχων πόλεως. συνχωροῦσι οἱ Γάιοι Μάρκι-  
10 οι Ἀπίων ὁ καὶ Διογένης καὶ Ἀπολινάριος ὁ καὶ Ἰουλιανδὸς  
οὐ δυν[ά]μενοι κατὰ τὸ παρὸν τὸν εἰς Αἴγυπτον πλοῦν ποι-  
ήσασθ[αι] συνεστακέσαι τὸν προγεγραμμένον Ὠφελᾶν  
ὄντα καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ Ὁξύρυγχεί-  
τη νομῷ φροντιστὴν καὶ κατὰ τήνδε τὴν συνχώρησιν  
15 φροντιοῦντα καὶ ἐπιμελησόμενον ὧν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπι-  
τροπεύουσιν ἀφηλίκων ἑαυτῶν ἀδελφιδῶν Οὐαλερί-  
ων Θεοδότου τοῦ καὶ Πωλίωνος καὶ Ἀπολλωναρίου  
τῆς καὶ Νεικαρέτης ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἀπαιτήσοντα φόρους  
καὶ ἐγγ[ι]σθώσοντα ἃ ἐὰν [δ]έον ᾗν καὶ καταστησόμενον



- 20 πρὸς οὓς ἂν δέῃ καὶ γένη διαπωλήσονται ἃ ἂν δέον  
 ἦ τῇ αὐτοῦ πίστει, διὰ τοὺς πρὸς τούτοις ὄντας συνχρημα-  
 τίζειν τῷ Ὡφελᾷ ἕκαστα [τ]ῶν προκειμένων ἐπιτελοῦν-  
 τι, καὶ λ[όγο]υς ὧν ἂν ἐπιτελέσῃ κατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστον  
 διαπε[μ]ψόμενον [αὐτοῖ]ς πάντα δὲ ἐπιτελέσονται κα-  
 25 θὰ καὶ αὐτοῖς παροῦσι ἐξῆν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ συνιστανόμενος  
 Ὡφελᾶς εὐδοκεῖ τῇδε τῇ συνχωρήσει, κυρίων ὄντων  
 ὧν ἔχουσι ὃ τε Ἀπίων ὁ καὶ Διογένης καὶ Ἀπολινάριος  
 ὁ καὶ Ἰουλιανὸς ἀλλήλων γραμμάτων παντοίων πάν-  
 των. ἀξ[ι]οῦ(μεν). ἔτους ἑπτακα[ι]δεκάτου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρο(ς)  
 30 Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀν[τ]ωνείνου Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς  
 Μεχεῖρ β.

2nd hand Ἀμμόνιος . . . . α( )

5. 1. υἱοῦ διέπ[οντ]ος. 6. ο of διο corr. from α? 8. 1. Ὡφελᾶτος τοῦ Ὡ. or Ὡφελᾶτος  
 Ὡ. ? 10. Ἰουλιανὸς Παρ. 24. 1. διαπε[μ]ψομένην . . . ἐπιτελέσονται.

‘To . . . , son of Isidorus the ex-exegetes, late strategus of the city, priest, archidicastes and superintendent of the chrematistae and the other courts, through the deputy archidicastes Demetrius son of Heraclides the ex-exegetes, from Gaius Marcius Apion also called Diogenes and Gaius Marcius Apolinarius also called Julianus and however we are styled, and from Ophelas son of Ophelas, of Oxyrhynchus. Gaius Marcius Apion also called Diogenes and Gaius Marcius Apolinarius also called Julianus, being at present unable to make the voyage to Egypt, agree that they have appointed the aforesaid Ophelas, who is the agent for their property in the Oxyrhynchite nome, by the terms of the present authorization to act for and take charge of their brother’s children Valerius Theodotus also called Polion and Valeria Apollonarian also called Nicarete, who are minors and their wards, and further to collect rents and to make such leases as may be necessary, and to appear against persons and to sell off produce as may be needful on his own authority. Accordingly let those concerned do business with Ophelas in the discharge of all the aforesaid duties; and he shall forward to the said parties accounts of all his acts every month, and shall have power to act in all things no less than they themselves would have if present. Ophelas the appointed representative assents to this authorization; and all bonds of every kind which Apion also called Diogenes and Apolinarius also called Julianus hold of each other remains in force. We request (your concurrence). The 17th year of the Emperor Caesar Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Mecheir 2.’

19. καταστησόμενον: for καθίστασθαι in the sense of appearing at legal proceedings cf. e. g. B. G. U. 613. 14 κατέστημεν ἐπὶ Θεο[δώρου], and the frequent instances of κατάστασις.

21. The construction is here somewhat awkward, the series of future participles which depend upon συνεστακέναι in l. 12 being interrupted by the parenthetical sentence διὰ τοὺς . . . συγχρηματίζειν . . . ἐπιτελοῦντι, which would better have been kept till the end.

29. ἀξ[ι]οῦ(μεν): cf. 268. 19 ἀξιοῦμεν ὡς καθήκ[ε]ι, and B. G. U. 729. 19 where ἀξιοῦ(μεν)

stands by itself, as here. Wilcken (*Archiv*, I. p. 176) and Mitteis (*ibid.* p. 350) both consider that the object to be supplied after ἀξιοῦμεν is σωματισμόν, on the strength of 268, where the preceding sentence is ἐν δὲ τοῖς προκειμένοις οὐκ ἔνεστι σωματ(ισμός). This was also our own view when editing that papyrus; but in consideration of the uncertainty concerning the meaning of the word σωματισμός, and the fact that here as well as in B. G. U. 729 ἀξιοῦ(μεν) is found by itself, we retain the doubts expressed in the note upon P. Fay. Towns 33. 18-9 as to whether in 268 ἀξιοῦμεν is to be connected with the clause immediately preceding. We should therefore prefer to understand some more general term.

### 728. SALE OF A CROP.

27 x 11.9 cm.

A. D. 142.

A contract of a somewhat novel character, called a καρπωνεῖα, by which two tenants sell part of their crops standing, the money to be paid by the purchaser within a given time direct to the landlord, who has the same rights of execution as in the case of a loan. At the end is an acknowledgement from the landlord of the receipt of the money.

- [Ἐκαρ]πώνησαν Παθώτης καὶ Α[ί]βιος ἀμφότεροι χρη-  
 [ματίζον]τ[ε]ς ἐγ μητρὸς Ἀρσεῖτο[ς] ἀπὸ κώμης Θώ-  
 [σβεως Διο]γένει Ἀμόιτος μητρὸς Ἀβεῖτος ἀπὸ  
 τῆς αὐτῆς Θώσβεως ἀφ' ὧν κ[αί] αὐτοὶ γεωργοῦ-  
 5 σ[ι] Ἀπίωνος Ὡρίωνος ἀπ' Ὁξυ[ρύγ]χων πόλεως  
 περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν Θώσβιν ἐκ τοῦ Χαριξείνου  
 κλ[ή]ρου ἀπὸ ἀρουρῶν εἴκ[οσ]ι ἐκ τοῦ ἀπὸ ἀπη-  
 [λιώ]του μέρους χόρτου ἀρούρας τρεῖς ἐκ  
 γ[εω]μετρίας ἀργυρίου δρ[α]χμῶν διακοσίων  
 10 [ἐβδ]ομήκοντα ἕξ, ἐπὶ [τ]ῷ τὸν <κε>καρπωνη-  
 [μ]ένον ἐαυτῷ κόψαι καὶ μετενέγκαι ὁ-  
 [π]ου ἐὰν αἰρήται καὶ τὰς τοῦ ἀργυρίου δρα-  
 [χμὰς] διακοσίας ἐβδομήκοντα ἕξ μετα-  
 [βαλέσ]θαι τῷ προγεγραμμένῳ Ἀπίωνι ὄν-  
 15 [τ]ι κυρίῳ τοῦ ἐδάφους ἐντὸς ἑπείφ δεκά-  
 [της] τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος πέμπτου ἔτους  
 [Ἀντ]ωνείνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου. ἐὰν δὲ

- μὴ ἀποδοῖ τῇ ὠρισμένῃ προθεσμίᾳ  
 ἐκτίσει τὰς τοῦ ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς διακο-  
 20 σίας ἐβδομήκοντα ἐξ σὺν ἡμιωλίᾳ καὶ τό-  
 κον δραχμιαῖον ἐκάστης μνᾶς κατὰ μῆνα  
 ἑκάστον, τῆς πράξεως οὔσης τῷ Ἀπίωνι  
 ἐκ τε τοῦ Διογένους καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόν-  
 [τ]ων αὐτῷ πάντων καθάπερ ἐγ δίκης.  
 25 [κ]υρία ἢ καρπωνεία. ἔτους πέμπτου Αὐτοκράτορος  
 [Καίσα]ρος Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνείνου  
 [Σε]βαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς Φαρμουῦθι κγ. (2nd hand) Παθώ-  
 [τ]ης καὶ Λίβιος ἀμφότεροι ἐκ μητρὸς  
 Ἀρσεῖτος (κ)εκαρπονήκαμεν τῷ Διόγενει  
 30 τὰς τοῦ χόρτου ἀρούρας τρεῖς ἐκ γεωμε-  
 τρίας φόρου ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν δια-  
 κοσίων ὁδομήκοντα ἐξ ὧς πρόκει-  
 ται. Διονύσιος Διονύσιος ἔγραψα  
 ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μὴ εἰτότων γράμ(μ)ατα.  
 35 χρόνος ὁ αὐτός.  
 3rd hand Ἀπίων Ὀρείωνος Διογένει Ἀμόιτος  
 χαίρειν. ἔσχον παρὰ σοῦ τὰς συνε-  
 φωνημένας ὑπὲρ τιμῆς χόρτου ἀργυρί-  
 [ο]ν δραχμὰς διακοσίας ἐβδομήκοντα  
 40 [ἐξ κ]αὶ οὐδέν σοι ἐνκαλῶ ὧς πρόκειται.  
 [(ἔτους) ε] Ἀντωνείνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου  
 [Ἐπε]ῖφ β.

20. 1. ἡμιολία.

32. 1. ἐβδομήκοντα.

33. 1. Διονύσιος Διονυσίου.

34. 1. εἰδύτων.

'Pathotes and Livius, both styled as having Harseis for their mother, from the village of Thosbis, have sold to Diogenes son of Amois and Abeis, from the said Thosbis, out of the land belonging to Apion son of Horion, of Oxyrhynchus, which they cultivate at Thosbis in the holding of Charixinus, consisting of 20 arourae, the crop of hay upon three arourae as fixed by a survey in the eastern part for 276 drachmae of silver, on condition that Diogenes may cut the crop bought by him and transport it to any place that he may choose, and shall hand over to the aforesaid Apion who is the owner of the land the 276 drachmae of silver before Epeiph 10 of the present 5th year of Antoninus Caesar the lord. If he fails to pay it within the stipulated date he shall forfeit the 276 drachmae of silver increased by one half, with interest at the rate of a drachma a month for each mina, Apion



having the right of execution upon both Diogenes and all his property as if in accordance with a legal decision. This sale of a crop is valid. The 5th year of the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Pharmouthi 23. We, Pathotes and Livius, our mother being Harseis, have sold to Diogenes the crop of 3 arourae of hay as fixed by a survey for the payment of 276 drachmae of silver, as aforesaid. I, Dionysius son of Dionysius, wrote for them as they were illiterate. The same date.

Apion son of Horion to Diogenes son of Amois, greeting. I have received from you the 276 drachmae which were agreed upon for the price of the hay and I make no complaint against you, as aforesaid. The 5th year of Antoninus Caesar the lord, Epeiph 2.'

### 729. LEASE OF A VINEYARD.

21 × 29.7 cm.

A.D. 137.

A contract for the sub-lease of a vineyard for four years from Sarapion, who was himself a lessee (cf. l. 14), to Ammonius and Ptollas. The body of the document (ll. 1-35) is written in a very small hand in lines of exceptional length, of which the first 35-40 letters on the average are lost, while a few lines at the beginning are also wanting, being represented only by a detached fragment which is illegible and half decayed.

No extant lease of the Roman period has been drawn up with such elaboration of detail as the present document, and though P. Tebt. I. 105, of the second century B.C., is equally long its formula is quite different. Of the known leases of vineyards C. P. R. 244 is a mere fragment, and P. Brit. Mus. 163 is incomplete in the most important part. Hence the restoration of the lacunae in 729, which was moreover written by a somewhat careless scribe, is far from easy, and the sense of some of the provisions is obscure, though the general construction and meaning are usually intelligible.

The rent paid for the ἀμπελών, the extent of which does not appear, was (ll. 36-7) half the vine produce in addition to 50 jars of wine and perhaps a sum of money or corn; but that does not seem to include the rent of a piece of dry land which had once been a vineyard (χερσάμπελος, l. 30). This is leased (ll. 30-32) for three years, starting from a year after the date of the contract itself, and was to be cultivated as the lessees chose with the usual exceptions of the more exhausting crops, the rent being 60 drachmae and perhaps half the produce. The ἀμπελών is subdivided in l. 22 into a κτήμα and a καλαμεία. The former term refers mainly to the vines (though including a rose garden, *v. inf.*), the latter apparently to a crop of some kind of reeds; but the passages dealing with the καλαμεία (ll. 3-4 and 25-7) are unfortunately very imperfect,

and the connexion between the vines and the *κάλαμος* is not made clear; cf. l. 3, note. Lines 5–10 deal with the embankments (*χωματισμός*), ll. 10–11 with the manuring (*κοπρισμός*), l. 11 with the watching of the fruit (*ὀπωροφυλακία*), ll. 12–8 with the irrigation, for which the lessees were to receive a loan of both money and cattle, ll. 18–22 with the payment of the rent and penalties for failure to carry out the terms of the contract. Lines 22–7 regulate the condition in which the vineyard was to be delivered up at the end of the lease, while ll. 27–30 are concerned with the apportionment of the various *ἔργα*. After a section dealing with the lease of the *χερσάμπελος* (ll. 30–2) follows one concerning a rose garden in the *κτῆμα* (ll. 32–3), and the lease concludes with the usual clause assigning the taxes to the lessor (ll. 33–4), and another by which two rooms in a farmhouse are secured to the lessees (l. 34). Lines 35–8 contain the signature of the lessees, written for them in a large uncultivated hand by Ptolemaeus, while in ll. 38–46 is a supplementary agreement in a third hand, drawn up a year after the original contract, and acknowledging firstly (ll. 38–44) the loan of the cattle mentioned in l. 16, and secondly (ll. 44–5) another loan of which the previous mention is lost.

- 1 [ 67 letters ] . ου και [15 letters ] ην δε . [ . . . . . ] . . . [ . . . . . ] ανθε  
[ 18 letters ] . . . [
- 2 [ 40 letters ] . αρταβει [ 11 letters του εισι]όντος έτους . . . . .  
αγρα[ . . . ]ομενα . . . . . κατὰ . . . ήμισυ μ[ . . . . . ] απε]ργασίας  
κα[ . . . . . ] . ρ[ . . ] . ονται εισ . . ν . [ . . . . . ]
- 3 [ 39 letters ] εν έτι πα [ 15 letters ] . ν ενχρη . . οντο οι μεμισθωμένοι  
το ήμ[ι]συ και ο μεμισθωκώς το [έ]τερον ήμ[ι]συ την δε κ[ο]πήν τ[.]  
πρὸς] καλαμείαν οι αυτοι μεμ[ι]-
- 4 [σθωμένοι 32 letters ]νικων απ[ὸ του εισιόντος] έτους ἐπὶ την λοιπήν  
τριετίαν εἰς χρεία [ῆ]ν εἰς την καλαμουργίαν έτέρου καλάμου  
παρέξονται εἰς αυτοῖς οι μεμισθωμένοι τον δέοντ[α]
- 5 [ 37 letters ]εττει ὑπὸ του μ[εμ]ισθωκό[τος] Σαραπίωνος εισάξουσι εἰς τὸ  
[κτ]ῆμα ὃ τε {ο} μεμισθωκώς και οι μεμισθωμένοι κοιν[ῶ]ς κατὰ τὸ  
ήμισυ τῷ δέοντι καιρῷ και ἐπὶ την λοιπήν τριετί-
- 6 [αν 29 letters οἱ τε με]μισθωμένοι και ο μεμισθω[κ]ώς κοινῶς κατὰ τὸ  
ήμισυ ἀργυρί[ο]ν δραχμὰς τριακοσίας, ὅνπερ χούν εισοίσουσι εἰς τὸ  
κτῆμα κατ' έτος κοινῶς, ὑπολείψουσι δὲ τον ἀναβεβλημένον χούν

- 7 [ 36 letters δ]ραχμῶν τριακοσίων, τὴν δὲ ἀν[α]βολὴν ποιήσονται ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθίμων ἀναβολῶν. τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἀπὸ βορρᾶ τοῦ ἀρχαίου κτήματος χώματος ὑδροφυλακίαν μέχρι τοῦ ὄρους
- 8 [ 37 letters ] τῷ τοῦ ἀρχαίου κτήματος μισθωτῇ, τῆς κατ' ἔτος ἀπεργασίας τοῦ αὐτοῦ χώματος ἕανπερ χρεία ἦν ἔσται πρὸς μόνον τὸν μεμισθωκότα, τῶν τοῦ αὐτοῦ νεωφύτου χω-
- 9 [μάτων 32 letters ] πρὸς μόνους τοὺς μεμισθωμένους, ὁμοίως καὶ τοῦ νοτίνου χώματος μέχρι τοῦ ὄρους, τοῦ μεμισθωκότος Σαραπίωνος παρέχοντος αὐτοῖς κατ' ἔτος ἀμισθεὶ ὄρους δεκάπεντε
- 10 [. . . . ., ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ εἰσιόντος τρίτου καὶ] εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους ἐπὶ τὴν λοιπὴν τριετίαν δώσουσι τῷ μεμισθωκότι κατ' ἔτος τυροὺς ὀβολιαίους ἑκατόν. τὴν δὲ αὐταρκίαν κόπρον περιστερῶν πρὸς κοπρισμὸν τοῦ κτή-
- 11 [ματος δώσουσιν οἱ μεμισθωμένοι κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ] καὶ ὁ μεμισθωκὼς κατὰ τὸ ἔτ[ε]ρον ἥμισυ. ὃν δὲ ἔαν βούληται ὁ Σαραπίων ὀπωροφύλακα φυλάσσειν τῷ τῆς ὁπώρας καιρῷ φύλακα πέμψει, τοῦ ὀψωνίου ὄντος πρὸς αὐτὸν
- 12 [ 37 letters ] μηχανῆς καὶ τῆς ταύτης κ[. . .]ας ἔσται τὰ μὲν ξύλα πρὸς τὸν Σαραπίωνα, οἱ δὲ τεκτονικοὶ μισθοὶ καὶ ἡ τοῦ τέκτονος σύνταξις ἔσται πρὸς τοὺς μεμισθωμένους. ἔαν δὲ καινοῦ
- 13 [τροχοῦ 31 letters ] καὶ δώσει τοῖς αὐτοῖς μεμισθωμέν[ο]ις εἰς λόγον προχρείας ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς τρισχειλίας, ἐξ ὧν ὑπολογι(σ)θήσονται αἱ διδόμεναι τοῖς ὑδροπαρόχοις ὑπὲρ ποτισμῶν τοῦ αὐ-
- 14 [τοῦ κτήματος ἀπὸ Φαῶφι εἰκάδος τοῦ ἐνεστῶ]τος δευτέρου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους ἕως Φαῶφι εἰκάδος τοῦ εἰσιόντος τρίτου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους ἀκολούθως ἢ ἔχει ὁ Σαραπίων μισθώσει ἦν καὶ εἶναι κυρίαν δραχμὰς δισχειλίας
- 15 [ 36 letters ἀ]ς ἀποδώσει αὐτοῖς τῷ μὲν Ἀθὺρ μηνὶ δ[ρ]αχμὰς διακοσίας Τῦβι (διακοσίας) καὶ Μεχειρ τὰς λοιπὰς δραχμὰς ἑξακοσίας, τὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ δραχμὰς τρισχειλίας ἀποδώσουσι ἐξενίαν-
- 16 [τα 35 letters ]τουσι οἶνον ἀτόκους. τὰ (δὲ) [δέο]ντα κτήνη παρὰ τῷ ὑδροπαρόχῳ βόας πέντε καὶ μόσχους τρεῖς παραλήμψονται οἱ αὐτοὶ μεμισθωμένοι ἐν συντιμήσει τῇ εἰκάδι τοῦ
- 17 [Φαῶφι τοῦ τρίτου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους, καὶ συ]γγράφονται τῆς συντιμ[ή]σεως



- ἀπόδοσιν τοῦ λήγοντος χρόνου. ἐὰν δὲ χρεία γένητε ἑτέρας προ-  
 χρήσεως δώσει αὐτοῖς ὁ μεμισθωκώς, λαβόντες καὶ τάσσονται δρα-
- 18 [Χμ 31 letters ἐπάν]αγκον οὖν οἱ αὐτοὶ μεμ[ι]σθωμένοι ἕκαστα ἐπιτελεί-  
 τωσαν ὡς πρόκειται ἀμέμπτως μηδὲν ἔκκαιρον ἑώντος γείνεσθαι πρὸς  
 τὸ μὴ καταβλάπτεσθαι τὴν ἄμπελον μηδὲ
- 19 [ 35 letters ἀπ]οδότωσαν τῷ μεμισθ[ω]κότι τὸν μὲν οἶνον παρὰ ληνὸν  
 νέον ἄδολον ἑκατέρου μέρους παρέχοντος παρὰ ληνὸν τὸν αὐτάρκη  
 κέραμον, οὗ δὲ ἐὰν μὴ κατὰ καιρὸν ἔρ-
- 20 [γάζωνται 29 letters ]ομένου φυτοῦ τὸ βλάβος διπλοῦν, τοῦ δὲ κατα-  
 λιπεῖν τὴν μίσθωσιν ἐντὸς τοῦ χρόνου ἐπιτίμου ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς  
 πεντακοσίας καὶ εἰς τὸ δημόσιον τὰς ἴσας χωρὶς
- 21 [τοῦ τὴν μίσθωσιν μένειν κυρίαν . . . . .]ν, καὶ ἡ πρᾶξις ἔστω [τ]ῷ  
 μ[εμι]σθωκότι ἕκ τε τῶν μεμισθωμένων ἀλληλεγγύων ὄντων εἰς  
 ἕκτισιν καὶ ἐξ οὗ ἐὰν αὐτῶν αἰρήται καὶ ἕκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων  
 αὐτοῖς πάν-
- 22 [των καθάπερ ἐγ δίκης. καὶ μετὰ τὸν χρόνον παραδότ]ωσαν οἱ μεμισθω-  
 μένοι τ[ὸ κτ]ῆμα καὶ τὴν καλαμείαν σύνφυτα καὶ ἐπιμεμελημένα  
 καὶ καθαρὰ ἀπὸ τε θρύου καὶ βοτάνης καὶ δείσης πάσης καὶ τὰ  
 φυτὰ εὐθαλοῦντα καὶ
- 23 [ 37 letters ]τι κεχαρακωμένας καὶ τὰ [το]ῦ κτήματος χῶματα ἔστε-  
 γασμένα καὶ ὑδροπεφυλακημένα καὶ ἃς ἂν παραλάβωσι θύρας καὶ  
 κλεῖς καὶ τὴν μηχανὴν ὑ(γ)ιῇ πλήν
- 24 [ 34 letters ποι]ήσονται τοὺς ποτισμοὺς τοῦ [κτῆ]ματος καὶ τῆς καλα-  
 μείας] πεμπταίους πρὸς ἀρεσκί[αν] τοῦ Σαραπίωνος καὶ τὴν τοῦ  
 κατὰ τὸν Σαραπίωνα οἴνου μεταφορὰν ἀπὸ τῆς
- 25 [ 40 letters ]εινησιν κ[. . . . .] ἐφ' ὅσον ἐνην . ε . . [ . . . . .]νται,  
 ἔτι δὲ καὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ μ[εμι]σθωμένοι ὑπολείψουσι μ[ετ]ὰ τὸν χρόνον  
 τὸν τότε τῆς καλαμείας κάλαμον
- 26 [ 40 letters ]ν τῷ ἐξῆ[ς . . . . .]ετι διὰ τὸ καί . [ . . . . . ]νὰ  
 ἑτέρῳ μισ[θ] . . . . .] . εἰ ἐπικείμενον τῆς κ[α]λαμείας κάλαμον  
 ὃν π[.]ρ[.]ης τοῦ διελθόντος ἔτους
- 27 [ 38 letters Σα]ραπιων . [ 16 letters ]οκειμ[ε]ν[.] 14 letters ]ον  
 οἶνον [ 15 letters ]ον φ . . . . . μέτρῳ π[.] . . . . . οἶνικον  
 τοῦ Σαραπίωνος

- 28 [ 36 letters τ]ϖ μέσῳ τοῦ κ[τήματος τὴν δὲ μη]χανὴν ἀναβαλεῖ ὁ  
με[μι]σθωκὼς ἰδίαις δαπάναις ἀπὸ μηνὸς Παχῶν, τὴν δὲ σκαφὴν τῆς  
πλακάδος τοῦ ὑποδοχίου ἔσται ὑπὸ
- 29 [τε τῶν μεμισθωμένων κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ καὶ] ὑπὸ τοῦ μεμισθωκότος κατὰ τὸ  
ἕτερον ἥμισυ. τὴν δὲ κατ' ἔτος ξυλοτομίαν καὶ ἕκαστον τῶν κατὰ  
και[ρ]ὸν ἔργων ποιήσουσι οἱ μεμισθωμένοι ἐπακολουθοῦν-
- 30 [τος τοῦ Σαραπίωνος 20 letters ]ως αὐτῷ πάντα γενέσθαι. μισθώσει  
δὲ ὁ μεμισθωκὼς τοῖς μεμισθωμένοις ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰσιόντος τρίτου καὶ  
εἰκ[ο]στοῦ ἔτους ἐπὶ χρόνον ἔτη τρία τὴν ἐντὸς πλαστῶν χερσάμπε-
- 31 [λόν 33 letters ἀ]ρουρηδοῦ ὥστε κατ' ἔτος σπεῖραι καὶ ξυλαμῆσαι οἷς  
ἐὰν αἰρῶνται γένεσι χωρὶς εἰσάτεος καὶ ἐχομενίου φόρου ἀποτάκτου  
κατ' ἔτος δραχμῶν ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἥμισυ μέρος τῶν
- 32 [ 37 letters ] . ἐν αἷς ἐστὶν τροχὸς ὡς ἐὰν κατ' ἔτος κοινότερον συν-  
φωνήσωσι τὸν φόρον. τὸν δὲ ἐν τῷ κτήματι ῥοδῶνα κατ' ἔτος ὄντος  
τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ Σαραπίωνος τῶν μεμι-
- 33 [σθωμένων 29 letters ]τα[.] παρὲς τῆς ξυλλογείας, τῶν κατ' ἔτος  
πάντων τῶν αὐτῶν ἀρουρῶν καὶ τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος ὄντων πρὸς τὸν  
Σαραπίωνα δημοσίων, ὃς καὶ ἔξει ὁ αὐτὸς Σαραπίων
- 34 [ 28 letters καὶ παρέξει] ὁ αὐτὸς Σαραπίων τοῖς μεμισθωμένοις πρὸς  
ἐνοίκησιν χωρὶς ἐνοικίου ἐν τῷ ἐποικίῳ καμάραις δύο. κυρία ἢ  
μίσθωσις. (ἔτους) δευτέρου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος
- 35 [Καίσαρος Τραιανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Φαῶφι ιε. (2nd hand) Ἀμμόνιος  
Ἀπολλωνίδου καὶ Πτολλᾶς Λουκίου μεμισθώμετα τὸν ἀνπελονα ἐπὶ  
τὰ τέσσαρα ἔτη
- 36 [φόρου τῆς ἡμισείας τοῦ ἐκ]βησομένου οἰνικοῦ γενήματος καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς  
ἡμῶ(ν) ἡμησίας ἄλλα οἴνου κεράμια πεντήκον-
- 37 [τα 20 letters ]α καὶ ἕκα(σ)τα ποιήσομεν ὃς πρόκειται. Πτολεμαῖς  
Ζωίλου ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μὴ εἰδόντων
- 38 [γράμματα. ἔτους δευτ]έρου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τραι-  
ανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Φαοφι ιε. (3rd hand) Ἀμμόνιος
- 39 [Ἀπολλωνίδου καὶ Πτολλᾶς Λουκίου ἔσ]χομεν παρὰ τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ) Σαρα-  
πίω(νος) καὶ τῇ κ τοῦ Φαῶφι τοῦ δευτέρου ἔτους Τίτου Αἰλίου  
Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνείνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου βοεικὰ κτήνη μόσχους  
μὲν τελείους

- 40 [ 22 letters βόας δὲ τε]λείας τρεῖς πάντα ἐν συντειμήσει ἀργυρίου  
δραχμῶν δισχειλίων πεντακοσίων, ἅπερ κτήνη ἐπάναγκον θρέψομεν  
τῆς κατ' ἔτος γο-
- 41 [νῆς 27 letters ]ων, μετὰ δὲ τὸν χρόνον τῆς μισθώσεως αἰρέσεως καὶ  
ἐγλογῆς οὔσης σοι τῷ Σαραπίωνι ἐὰν μὲν αἰρή τὴν συντείμησιν τῶν  
κτηνῶν λαβεῖν
- 42 [ 31 letters ]ν τῆς τότε ἐσομένης α[ύ]τῶν συντειμήσεως, κὰν μὲν ἐλάσ-  
σονες συντειμηθῇ ἀποδώσομεν τὸν ἰς συμπλήρωσιν τῆς προκει-
- 43 [μένης συντειμήσεως, ἐὰν δὲ καὶ μείζο]νος ἀποδώσεις ἡμεῖν σ[ὺ δὲ] Σαρα-  
π[ί]ων τὸ τοῦ . . . ν [ἴ]σον, ἐὰν δὲ αἰρώμεθα ἀλλάσσειν κτήνη ἢ πωλεῖν  
ἕξεσται ἡμεῖν μετὰ γνώμης
- 44 [ 30 letters τὰ ἴ]σα. ἔτ[ι δὲ] καὶ ἔσχ[ομεν ἐν]εχυρούμ[ε]να ἀλ[.....]μενα  
ἐκατ[ὸν . . .]κοντα ἅ μετὰ τ[ὸν χρό]νον παραδώσωμεν τὰ ἴσα σει-  
τίνου αὐ . .
- 45 [ 35 letters ]ατ[. . .] . . . [ . . . . . ] . . . [ . . ] . . . [ . . . . . ἔτου]ς  
δευτέρ[ου Αὐτοκράτ]ορος Καίσ[αρος Τίτου Αἰ]λίου Ἀδριανοῦ [Ἀντ]ω-  
νείνου Σε[βαστοῦ]
- 46 [Εὐσεβοῦς Φαῶφι κ. ]

8. 1. οὔσης for ἔσται. 9. s μονους above the line. vs of τους corr. from ν. μεν of  
μεμισθωμενους corr. from κοτα. 10. 1. κόπρου. 13. α of διδομεναι corr. from ο. π of  
υδροπαροχοις corr. from σ. 14. First τ of τριτου corr. from δ. μ of δραχμας corr. from σ.  
1. δραχμαὶ δισχιλῖαι. 16. πα of υδροπαροχω corr. from φν. 17. γ of γενητε corr.  
from ν. 1. γένηται. 1. προχρήσεως. ε of δώσει corr. from ο. 18. 1. ἐώντες. 22. α και  
before καθαρα corr. 23. και before υδροπ. corr. 24. αλαμ[ of καλαμ[ corr. 28. 1. ἡ  
δὲ σκαφή. της corr. 30. ει of μισθώσει corr. from εαν. 31. 1. ἰσάτεως καὶ ὀχομενίου.  
35. 1. μεμισθώμεθα τὸν ἀμπελῶνα. 36. 1. ἡμισείας. 37. κει of προκειτε corr. 1. ὡς πρό-  
κειται . . . εἰδόντων. 38. 1. Φαῶφι. 39. παρα του αντ(ου) σαραπιω(νος) above the line.  
42. 1. ἐλάσσονος. 44. 1. παραδώσωμεν. ἴσα Pap.

3. καλαμεῖαν: that a special connexion exists between the cultivation of κάλαμος and vine-growing is apparent not only from the present document (cf. especially ll. 22 and 24, where the κτήμα is coupled with the καλαμεία), but from other leases of ἀμπελῶνες; cf. C. P. R. 224. 11-2 ]ων καλαμουργίαν ἐκ καινῆς . . . τ]ὸν αὐτάρκη κάλαμον καὶ σχοινία, P. Brit. Mus. 163. 22-5, where read καὶ τὴν οὔσαν καλαμίαν ἀναχώσομεν κατ' ἔτος ἕ[καστον καὶ τὸ]ν ἀμπ[ε]λῶνα τῇ κα[λ]αμουργί[α . . . . . ο]μεν κατ' ἔτος . . . , and P. Tebt. 120. 141 καὶ καλαμουργή(σει) . . . . . ἕκαστος καὶ ἀντλήσει. On the other hand κάλαμος was sometimes cultivated by itself, as is shown by B. G. U. 558. 13, where a καλαμία corresponds to an ἐλαιών; cf. P. Brit. Mus. 195 (δ). 11 and B. G. U. 619. ii. 19 and 776. 10, which mention κάλαμος Ἑλληνικός, contrasted apparently with κάλαμος Ἰνδικός (P. Brit. Mus. 191. 11; cf. Wilcken, *Archiv*, I. p. 150). In P. Tebt. 5. 199 καλαμεία is mentioned as being required for



embankments (cf. note *ad loc.*); but though this section dealing with *κάλαμος* in 729 is immediately followed by one dealing with embankments (cf. P. Brit. Mus. 163. 22) the *καλαμεία* in an *ἀμπελών* would seem to be a crop of reeds planted between or under the vines. According to l. 22 the *καλαμεία* equally with the *κτῆμα* had to be handed over *σύνφυτα καὶ ἐπιμεμελημένα κ.τ.λ.*

5. *χοῦν* is to be supplied as the object of *εἰσάξουσιν*; cf. l. 6. In the first year of the lease the responsibility for the *χωματισμός* was shared equally by the lessor and lessees. In the succeeding three years (ll. 6–7) the responsibility continues to be equally divided, but a payment of 300 drachmae comes in, the nature of which is obscure.

7–9. Apparently the contract is concerned with the lease of the newly reclaimed *κτῆμα*, and the adjoining *ἀρχαῖον κτῆμα* was leased to some one else, the *μισθωτής* of l. 8. The embankment which is the subject of ll. 7–8 probably divided the two *κτῆματα*, and the arrangement is that for the *ὕδροφυλακία* Sarapion and the other *μισθωτής* are jointly responsible, but for the *ἀπεργασία* Sarapion alone. For certain embankments of the *νεόφυτον κτῆμα* on the other hand the lessees were responsible, as well as for the ‘southern embankment’ (ll. 8–9), Sarapion supplying them with 15 donkeys annually, in return for which they were to pay him in each of the last three years of the lease 100 cheeses worth an obol apiece (ll. 9–10).

10–11. ‘The necessary amount of pigeon’s dung for manuring the vineyard shall be provided half by the lessees and the other half by the lessor. Sarapion shall send any guard whom he chooses in order to protect the fruit at the time of bearing, being himself responsible for the payment of him.’

12. A new waterwheel (*sakīyeh*) was required, Sarapion paying for the wood, the lessees for the construction.

13–6. A loan of 3000 drachmae is to be advanced by Sarapion to the lessees, but from this is to be deducted 2000 dr. paid to the persons who supplied the water for the current year in accordance with Sarapion’s lease of the land from them. The remaining 1000 dr. were to be paid in three instalments in the earlier half of the year. In l. 15 only 800 dr. are accounted for, but it is more likely that *διακοσίας* has been omitted after *τῷβι* than that it is to be supplied at the beginning of l. 15. The whole 3000 dr. were to be repaid to Sarapion without interest at the time of the vintage towards the end of the first year of the lease. The large amount paid for water makes it probable that this came not from a well but from a newly-made channel. For *ἐξενίαν[τα]* in l. 15 cf. P. Amh. 85. 14, 86. 11, and P. Par. 25. 12. The second of these instances, in which *ἐξενίαντα* follows *κατ’ ἔτος*, shows that it must have meant something different; and the sense ‘annually’ would not suit the present passage, for it is clear that the loan which is the subject of ll. 13–6 refers to a single occasion; cf. l. 17, where it is contrasted with the *ἐτέρα πρόχρησις*. The most suitable meaning for *ἐξενίαντα* in all these contexts is ‘within (or ‘for’) the whole year.’ In B. G. U. 920. 18 the editor reads *ἐνενίαντα κατ’ ἔτος*, where too *ἐξενίαντα* was probably intended if not the actual reading.

16–7. With this passage cf. ll. 39–44, which refer to the carrying out of this stipulation. The oxen were required for working the waterwheel, and according to l. 39 were actually supplied a year after the date of the lease by Sarapion, but from the present passage they would seem to have been deposited with the persons who supplied the water. They were to be received ‘at a valuation’ and an agreement was at the same time to be made about the return of this valuation at the expiration of the lease. The details of the repayment are specified in ll. 41–4.

17–8. The 2000 drachmae for water (l. 14) were probably an annual charge, and hence a second loan from the lessor might be required. For this the lessees paid interest, if we restore *δρα[χμιαῖον τόκον]*.

18-24. 'The said lessees are therefore required to perform all the aforesaid duties blamelessly, leaving nothing undone at the right season, so that no damage may accrue to the vineyard . . . and they shall pay to the lessor the wine at the vat, new and unadulterated, each party providing at the vat a sufficient number of jars, and for every failure to perform work at the proper time...twice the amount of the damage, and for giving up the lease before the end of the period a fine of 500 silver drachmae and to the Treasury an equal sum without affecting the validity of the lease, and the lessor shall have the right of execution both upon the lessees who are each other's sureties for payment, and upon whichever of them he chooses and upon all their property, as if in accordance with a legal decision. And at the end of the period the lessees shall deliver the vine-land and reed-land planted, well cared for, free from rushes, grass and weeds of all kinds, and the plants healthy . . . , and the . . . palisaded, the embankments of the vineyard firm and watertight, and also any doors and keys they may have received, and the waterwheel in good repair except . . . ; and they shall irrigate the vine-land and reed-land every fifth day to the satisfaction of Sarapion, and shall transfer Sarapion's share of the wine from the . . . '

28. The *μηχανή* is presumably that mentioned in l. 12, but the technical meaning of *ἀναβάλλειν* here is obscure. *πλακάς* is a new word meaning the lower part of the wine receptacle, which was below the ground level.

30. The lacuna at the beginning may be filled up *ὥστε πάντα ἀρεσκόντ]ως*; cf. l. 24.

30-2. This *χερσάμπελος* is distinct from the *ἀμπελών* which is the subject of the main contract; cf. introd. *ἐντὸς πλαστῶν* in l. 30 seems to mean 'enclosed by a mud wall.'

32. *ῥοδῶνα*: this is the first mention in a papyrus of the cultivation of roses. In P. Brit. Mus. 163. 17, where for the editor's *ἀφρ[ο]δ[ι]σί[ων]* Wilcken (*Archiv*, I. p. 150) suggested *ἀργ(ῶν) ῥ[ο]δίων*, the correct reading is *ἀγρ[ο]δρύων*, i.e. *ἀκροδρύων*.

40-4. The total number of calves to be provided according to l. 16 was 3, and of *βόες* 5. Here however the calves were probably 5, for the *βόες* are 3. The cattle were valued at 2500 dr. altogether, and at the end of the lease Sarapion had the choice of receiving this sum or the animals at a new valuation. If this was less than the former one, the lessees had to make up the difference to Sarapion. If the fresh valuation was higher, apparently Sarapion paid them the difference. If the lessees wished to change or sell the cattle, they might do so with Sarapion's consent.

44-5. These lines clearly refer to something contained in the main contract, but though we should expect a mention here of the *χερσάμπελος* (ll. 30-2) which was to be leased after one year, the remains of l. 44 suggest something quite different, which must have occurred in one of the lost provisions.

### 730. LEASE OF DOMAIN LAND.

19.5 × 7.3 cm.

A.D. 130.

A sub-lease of 5 arourae of domain land at Senepta for one year, at the rent of 24 drachmae per aroura, with an extra payment of 4 drachmae. The crop specified is grass, while the other provisions follow the usual formulae; cf. e.g. 499.

- 'Εμίσθωσεν Σαραπίων 'Ηρώδου  
 ἀπ' 'Οξύ[ρ]ύγχων πόλεως Οὐαλέρις  
 Ἀπολλωνίου ἀπὸ κώμης Σενέπτα  
 Πέρση [τ]ῆς ἐπιγονῆς εἰς τὸ ἐνεσ-  
 5 τὸς πεντεκαιδέκατον ἔτος  
 Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου  
 ἀπὸ τῆς ἀναγρ(αφ)ομένης εἰς αὐ-  
 τὸν βασιλικῆς γῆς ἀρούρας π[έν]-  
 τε ἐκ τοῦ Δάμωνος κλήρου,  
 10 ὥστ[ε] ταύτας ξυλαμῆσαι χόρ-  
 τῳ ἐ[ῖ]ς κοπὴν κα[ὶ] ἐπ[ι]νομήν,  
 φόρο[υ] ἀποτάκτου ἀργυρίου δρα-  
 χμῶν ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι καὶ σπον-  
 δῆς τῶν ὅλων παιδαρίοις δρα-  
 15 χμὰς τέσσαρας ἀκινδύνου  
 παντὸς κινδύνου, τῶν ὑπὲρ  
 τῆς γῆς δημοσίων ὄντων  
 πρὸς τὸν μεμισθωκότα, ὃν καὶ  
 κυριεύειν τῶν καρπῶν  
 20 ἕως ἂν τὸν φόρον κομίση-  
 ται. τῆς δὲ μισθώσεως βε-  
 βαιουμένης ἀποδότω ὁ με-  
 μισθωμέν[ος] τὸν φόρον τῷ  
 Παῦνι μηνὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους,  
 25 ὃ δ' ἂν προσοφειλέσῃ ὁ με-  
 μισθωμένος ἀποτεισάτω  
 μεθ' ἡμιολίας, καὶ ἡ πρᾶ-  
 ξις ἔστω τῷ μεμισθωκότι  
 ἕκ τε τοῦ μεμισθωμένου  
 30 καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων  
 αὐτῷ πάντων. κυρία ἡ μί-  
 σθωσις. (ἔτους) ιε Αὐτοκράτορος  
 Καίσαρος Τραιανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ  
 Σεβαστοῦ Ἀθὺρ ιθ. (2nd hand)  
 Οὐαλέρις  
 35 Ἀπολλωνίου μεμίσθ[ω]-  
 [μαι τῇ] γ γῇ γ [.] . . [.] . . .  
 [.] . . ἀρ[γυ]ρίου δραχμῶν ἑκα-  
 [τὸν εἴκοσι] . . .  
 . . . . .

On the verso

ιε (ἔτους) μί(σθωσις) ἀρουρ[ῶ]ν ε [.] . . . Σενέπ(τα).

2. 1. Οὐαλερίω. 20. ο of τον corr. from α. 21. ε of δε corr. from ι (?). 39. σενεπ(τα) above [.] . . .

'Sarapion son of Herodes, of Oxyrhynchus, has leased to Valerius son of Apollonius, of the village of Senephta, a Persian of the Epigone, for the current 15th year of Hadrianus Caesar the lord, out of the domain land standing in his name 5 arourae in the holding of Damon, to be cultivated with grass for cutting and grazing at a fixed rent of 120 silver drachmae and 4 drachmae for the slaves for a libation on account of all the land, the rent being secured against every risk, and the taxes on the land being paid by the lessor, who shall also be the owner of the crop until he receives the rent. If this lease is guaranteed, the lessee shall pay the rent in the month Pauni of the said year, and the lessee shall forfeit any arrears increased by one half; and the lessor shall have the right of execution upon the lessee and upon all his property. This lease is valid. The 15th



year of the Emperor Caesar Trajanus Hadrianus Augustus, Athur 19. (Signed) I, Valerius son of Apollonius, have leased the land at a rent of 120 silver drachmae . . .'

8-9. βασιλικῆς . . . ἐκ τοῦ Δάμωνος κλήρου: i.e. the land was part of a confiscated κλήρος; cf. 721. 4-6.

10. ξυλαμῆσαι χόρτῳ: cf. 101. 11, 280. 12, 15, and 409. 15 where χόρτῳ is to be read for χόρτον.

13. σπονδῆς . . . παιδαρίοις: for the payment on account of σπονδή in leases cf. 101. 19 and 610, and note on 525. 7. In the present case it was for the benefit of the slaves employed in the cultivation of the land.

35. The paragraphus below this line marks the conclusion of the lease, and the signature was intended to begin below it.

36-7. [φύ]ρον [ἀπ]οτά[κ]του is perhaps to be read, but does not very well suit the remaining vestiges of letters.

### 731. ENGAGEMENT OF SERVICES.

11.7 × 13.4.

A.D. 8-9.

A contract for services to be rendered on certain specified occasions, among which are the festivals of Isis and Hera, at a salary of 40 drachmae a year, besides an ὀψώνιον of 13 drachmae 2 obols. The commencement of the contract is lost, and the nature of the services to be performed is uncertain; but it may be conjectured on the analogy of e.g. 475, P. Grenf. II. 67, and P. Brit. Mus. 331 (cf. *Archiv*, I. p. 153), that the person engaged was an *artiste* of some kind, though to judge from the scale of remuneration, not of a very high class. The document was drawn up by a careless scribe, who makes a number of mistakes.

. . . . .  
 συμ[ 20 letters ]η καὶ ο[. . . . .  
 σιοις [τ]οῦ ἐνάτου καὶ τριακοσ[το]ῦ ἔτο[υ]ς Καί-  
 σαρος μέχρι Θωὺθ τοῦ τρι[α]κοστοῦ ἔτους  
 Καίσαρος ἐφ' ᾧ λιτουργήσω ὑμεῖν κατὰ μῆ-  
 5 να ἐνάτη καὶ δεκάτη καὶ Εἰσίοις ἡμέρας  
 δύο καὶ τοῖς ἄστροις Ἡρας τρεῖς, καὶ ἐφ' ᾧ ἐάν  
 μου χρήαν ἔχητε παρ' ἡμέραν δώσε-  
 τέ μοι ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμὴν) μίαν ὀβολοὺς δύο, μισθοῦ τοῦ  
 ἐσταμέ[ν]ου τὸ ἔτος ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμὰς) τεσσαράκον-  
 10 τα, ἐφ' ᾧ [δ]ώσετε μοι κατ' ὀψώνιον ἀργυ(ρίου)

δραχμ[ὰς δεκ]ατρῖς δύο ὀβολούς. ἥς ἡ-  
 μέρας η[. . .]ε ἀργ[ή]σω ἐ[κτ]ίσω ἀργυ(ρίου) δραχμὴν μί-  
 αν δύο ὀβ[ολού]ς. ἡ ὁμ{ομ}ολογία τῆς {α}πα-  
 ραμονῆς ἥδε κυρία ἐ[στω ὡς κατακεχωρισ-  
 15 μένη. (ἔτους) λη [Καίσαρος . . . . .

3. 1. τεσσαρακοστοῦ for τρι[α]κοστοῦ.

' . . of the 39th year of Caesar to Thoth of the 40th year of Caesar, on condition that I give you my services on the 9th and 10th of each month and for two days at the festival of Isis and three days at the time of the stars of Hera; and if you require me you shall pay me 1 drachma 2 obols of silver daily, or a fixed yearly salary of 40 drachmae of silver, and a present of 13 drachmae 2 obols of silver; and for every day that I am unemployed I will forfeit 1 drachma 2 obols of silver. This contract of engagement shall be valid as if publicly registered. The 38th year of Caesar . . .'

5-6. For the feast of Isis cf. P. Fay. Towns 118. 13. The star of Hera was another name for the planet Venus (cf. Arist. *de Mundo*, p. 392 a 27 ὁ τοῦ Φωσφόρου ὃν Ἀφροδίτης οἱ δὲ Ἥρας προσαγορεύουσιν, Pliny, *H. N.* 2. 8, &c.); but why the plural ἄστροις is here used is not clear. References to the cult of Hera in Egypt are rare; cf. 483. 3, note.

8-9. The 29 days in the year specified in ll. 4-6 seem to be treated as 30, which at 1 dr. 2 obols a day make the 40 dr.

11-2. ἥς ἡμέρας δὲ εἰάν would be expected, but this was certainly not written. The ε after the lacuna is nearly sure and this may represent δ]έ; but the letter after ἡμέρας if not η must be υ and is certainly neither δ nor ε.

14. There is not room for ἐν δημοσίῳ.

## (e) RECEIPTS.

### 732. RECEIPT FOR THE TAX ON FERRY-BOATS.

18.2 x 23 cm.

A.D. 150.

A receipt issued by two farmers of the ὠνὴ πορθμίδων at Oxyrhynchus and certain villages to two persons who apparently were ferrymen at one of these villages, acknowledging the payment first of 200 and subsequently of 100 drachmae for φόρος πόρθμειος, the total, 300 drachmae, being probably the whole sum due from them for a year. This impost, the title of which is new, seems

to be a tax upon the profits of privately owned ferry-boats rather than a revenue derived from a State monopoly, though the latter interpretation is also possible.

Ἡλιοδωρος Ἡλιοδώρου καὶ Λεοντ[ᾶς Π]εκύρι[ος] ἀπ' Ὁξύρυγχ[ω]ν πόλε[ως]  
τελώναι ὧν ἡς προθμίδων πόλεως καὶ Ἰσίου Ἀ . [ . . κ]αὶ ἄλλων τ[ῶ]ν ἐνεστὸς  
ιγ (ἔτος)

Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου Ἀχιλλᾶτι Θεώνιος [κα]ὶ Ἀπίτ[ι] Ἀπίτ[ο]ς  
ἀπὸ τῆς αὐ(τῆς)

πόλεως χαίρειν. ἔσχομεν παρ' ὑμῶν ἀφ' ὧν [ὁ]φίλετε ἡμῖν ὑπ[ὲ]ρ φόρου προ-  
5 θμείου Πανκύλεως ἐπὶ λόγου δραχμὰς διακ[οσί]ας, γίν(ονται) (δραχμαὶ) σ.  
(ἔτους) ιγ

Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς  
Τῦβι κς. (2nd hand) Ἡλιοδωρος ὁ προγεγραμμένος ἔσ-

χον σὺν τῷ Λεωντᾷ τὰς προ{γε}κιμένας

δραχμὰς διακοσίας, γίν(ονται) (δραχμαὶ) σ. (3rd hand) Λεοντᾶς Πεκύριος

10 ὁ προγεγραμμένος ἔσχον σὺν τῷ Ἡλιοδώρῳ

[τ]ᾶς π[ρο]κιμένας δραχμὰς δι[α]κοσίας. χρόνος

ὁ αὐτός. (2nd hand) Ἡλιοδωρος ἔσχον σ[ὺ]ν τῷ Λεοντᾷ

τὰς λυπὰς δραχμὰς ἑκατ[ό]ν. (3rd hand) Λεοντᾶς ἔσχον σὺν

τῷ Ἡλιοδώρῳ ὡς πρ[ό]κειται.

2. l. προθμίδων. ἰσίου Pap. 4. l. πορθμείου. 7. l. προγεγραμμένος. 8. κ of κινενας  
corr. from γ. 9. l. διακοσίας. 13. l. λοιπάς.

'Heliodorus son of Heliodorus and Leontas son of Pekuris, of Oxyrhynchus, farmers of the contract for the tax on ferry-boats at the city, Ision A . . . , and other (villages) for the present 13th year of Antoninus Caesar the lord, to Achilles son of Thoönis and Apeis son of Apeis, of the said city, greeting. We have received from you on account out of the sum which you owe us for the revenue from ferry-boats at Pankulis two hundred drachmae, total 200 dr.' Date and signatures of Heliodorus and Leontas, followed by their further acknowledgements of the remaining hundred drachmae.

## 733. TAX-RECEIPT.

12 × 9.7 cm.

A.D. 147.

A receipt for the tax on pigs (cf. 288, introd.) and poll-tax paid by an inhabitant of Oxyrhynchus and his son. The payments are no doubt instalments of the whole amount due for a year.

Q



I (ἔτους) Ἀντωνεῖ[νου] Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου  
 Παχὼν δ. [δ]ιέγρα(ψε) Διογ(ένει) πρά(κτορι) ἀργυ(ρικῶν)  
 M . [ . . . ] πλατ(είας) Ἀμόις ὁ καὶ Παπο(ντῶς) Διοδώ(ρου)  
 υἱκ(ῆς) [τοῦ] αὐ(τοῦ) ι (ἔτους) (δραχμὴν) μίαν (πεντῶβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον), /  
 (δραχμὴ) α (πεντῶβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον).  
 5 T . ρ[. .] . ο[. .]ς υἱδ(ς) μη(τρὸς) Ταπο(ντῶτος) λαογρα(φίας)  
 τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ) ι (ἔτους) (δραχμὰς) τ[έσ]σαρας, υἱκ(ῆς) α (πεντῶβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον).

2. π of παχων corr. from δ. The following δ is corrected.

‘The 10th year of Antoninus Caesar the lord, Pachon 4. Amois also called Papontos, son of Diodorus, has paid to Diogenes, collector of money taxes of M . . . street, for the pig-tax of the said 10th year 1 drachma  $5\frac{1}{2}$  obols, total 1 dr.  $5\frac{1}{2}$  ob. T . . ., his son, his mother being Tapontos, has paid for the poll-tax of the said 10th year 4 drachmae, for the pig-tax 1 drachma  $5\frac{1}{2}$  obols.’

### 734. TAX-RECEIPT.

10.4 × 9.7 cm.

A.D. 165.

A receipt for the payment of 1 drachma 4 obols by Cleon to an agent of the tax-collectors of a subdivision of the middle toparchy. The names of the taxes, which are abbreviated γλ<sup>-</sup> and σ<sup>-</sup>, are uncertain, being probably both new.

E (ἔτους) Αὐρηλίων Ἀντωνίνου καὶ Οὐήρου τῶν  
 κυρίων Σεβαστῶν Φαμε(νὸθ) κς. διέγρα(ψε) Κλάρφ  
 χι(ριστῆ) πρα(κτόρων) ἀργυ(ρικῶν) μέ(σης) τοπ(αρχίας) Πέτνη Τακολ( )  
 τόπ(ων) δι(ὰ)  
 Ἀμμω(νίου) βοη(θοῦ) γλυ( ) καὶ συ( ) ε (ἔτους) Κλέων  
 5 [ . . ]του Τακολ( ) δραχ(μὴν) μίαν( ) τετρώβολον),  
 / (δραχμὴ) α (τετρώβολον).

3. The Πέτνη τόποι are known from 595, but the addition of Τακολ( ), which recurs in l. 5, is new.

## (f) ACCOUNTS.

## 735. GRAECO-LATIN MILITARY ACCOUNT.

12.5 × 16.4 cm.

A.D. 205. PLATE V.

This is a fragment of a Graeco-Latin register or account, concerning a detachment of troops (cf. 43 recto). Lines 5–11 contain a copy of a receipt in Greek from an *optio*, or adjutant, to an imperial deputy-procurator for 50 artabae of wheat paid to a number of cavalrymen, whose names in Latin precede. A list of six footsoldiers follows, which was presumably succeeded by another receipt in Greek recording a payment to them. There are a few Latin letters (apparently belonging to names) from the ends of lines of the previous column, and what remains of Col. iii is occupied with more names in Latin. One or two of these soldiers' names indicate Hebrew extraction.

The receipt is dated in the 14th year of a joint reign, which on palaeographical grounds is probably that of Septimius Severus and Caracalla.

Col. ii.	Col. iii.
. . . . .	
G[.]M[	
Sadus [	
Marrus Comar[	
Valerius Isidori	
5 Μαλωχῶς M[.]γαν[ο]ν ὀπτίων Οὐίκτω-	Iehael [
ρι Κωμαρίνω Καισάρων οἰκονόμου	riex Barichius [
οὐικαρίου χαίρειν. ἐμετρήθησαν	20 Sadus [
οἱ προκίμενοι ἵππεῖς πραιτῶν ἀριθμῶν	Themes [
ὑπὲρ μηνὸς Θῶθ πυροῦ ἀρτάβας πεν-	Salmes [
10 τήκοντα. (ἔτους) ἰδ τῶν κυρίων Σεβαστῶν	Zebidius [
Θῶθ ζ.	Malichus Sa[
item pedites vi Belei	25 Psenosirius [
Beleus Zabdius	Roman(us?) A[
ad cognlega Claudius Sabinus	Çumeşiu[s] et Trufon H[
15 Ierraeus Macchana	Iulius .[
Gradius Avidus	Etiopius Chr .[
Themes Malichi	30 Pacebius P[

6-7. 1. Κωμαρίνου . . . οἰκονόμῳ οὐικαρίῳ.  
8. 1. πρώτων.

7. First ε of ἐμετρηθησαν corr. from ο (?).

3-4. The pairs of names here and in ll. 13-7 are placed rather far apart and look at first sight as if they were independent; but with one exception either the second name has a genitive termination or the first may be a gentile name, while unless the names are connected the number *vi* in l. 10 is wrong. The only case in which any difficulty arises is in l. 13, where *Beleus* and *Zabdius* certainly seem to be separate names; but the distance between them is greater than in any of the other cases. Possibly *Gradius* and *Avidus* in l. 16, where again the space is very wide, should also be separated, thus making the number 6. In l. 3 the second name is perhaps *Comar[ini]*; cf. l. 6.

5. Μαλωχῶς: hardly Μαλωχᾶς, though that name occurs in a Palmyra inscription, C. I. G. 4497.

6. Καισάρων οἰκονόμου οὐικαρίου: cf. B. G. U. 156. 3 and 102. 1, where οἰκονόμος is probably to be read between Καίσαρος and οὐικάριος.

14. The marginal additions here and in l. 19 are obscure; *cognlega* is perhaps *collega*, but what is *riex*? The first letter may be *a* but the second does not at all resemble *p*, nor would *apex* be a very likely word here.

### 736. PRIVATE ACCOUNT.

17.3 × 54.3 cm.

About A.D. I.

Of this lengthy account of private expenses parts of seven columns in all remain, five on the recto and two on the verso; the first column of the recto, however, which is separated from those following by a broad blank space, is too fragmentary to be worth reproducing, and the same may be said of a narrow half-effaced column corresponding to this one but written in the reverse direction on the back. The remainder is in fairly good condition, but the papyrus is broken at the top and bottom, and the short column on the verso is sometimes difficult to decipher owing to discolouration. The various payments are arranged according to the days of the month, and some interesting items and prices occur.

#### Col. ii.

. . . . .  
κα. φα[ ]  
εἰς [ 15 letters ] . . (δραχμαὶ) δ,  
βα . [ . . . ] . . [ . . ] ἀφ[ . . . ] διὰ  
Ζμ[ . . . ] φαινόλ[ο]ν Κοράξου (δραχμαὶ) ι,  
5 γο[γ]γυλίδος εἰς ταριχείαν (δραχμῇ) α (ὀβολοὶ δύο),



- χαλκίου μισθοῦ εἰς βάψαι (ὀβολοὶ δύο ?)  
 ἄλδς (ὀβολός ?),  
 ἄλεστρα (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβης) α ἐπὶ τῆς ιη (τριώβολον ?),  
 θρύων εἰς τοὺς ἄρτους (ὀβολοὶ δύο),  
 10 ἥπητρα εἰς φαινόλ(ην) Κοράξου (ὀβολός) (ἡμιωβέλιον),  
 εἰς κατανθρωπισμὸν γυναικ(ός)  
 Γεμέλλου (τετρώβολον ?),  
 μύρου εἰς ἀποστολὴν ταφῆς  
 θυγατρὸς Φνᾶς (τετρώβολον).  
 15 κβ. ἐλαίου χο(ός) α (δραχμαὶ) δ (τετρώβολον),  
 κηροῦ καὶ γραφείου παιδ(ῶν) (ὀβολός),  
 ἄρτου καθαροῦ Πρίμα[ς] (ἡμιωβέλιον),  
 εἰς κ[α]τανθρωπισμὸν Τύχης (τριώβολον).  
 Μεχ(εῖρ) θ. [ 20 letters ] (δραχμὴ) α (τριώβολον)

3. φ of ]αφ[ rewritten (?).

Col. iii.

Ends of 3 lines.

- ι. ολ[. . .]κο . [.] ἀρίσ[τω γ]ερδί(ου) (ὀβολός),  
 κρ[. . .] ν . . . (ἡμιωβέλιον),  
 25 εἰς τὸ Σαραπιῶν (ὀβολοὶ δύο),  
 ἄρτου καθαροῦ παιδ(ῶν) (ἡμιωβέλιον),  
 ζύτου γ[ε]ρδί(ου) (ὀβολοὶ δύο),  
 πράσων ἀρίστω γερδί(ου) (ὀβολός),  
 περιστερᾶς (ὀβολός),  
 30 Ἀντᾶτι (δραχμαὶ) β (ὀβολοὶ δύο),  
 ἄνω ἐν τῇ πόλ(ει) ἄλεστρα ἄρτων  
 (πυροῦ) (ἀρταβῶν) β διὰ [Ἰ]σᾶτος (δραχμὴ) α (ὀβολοὶ δύο).  
 ια. ἐν παρεμβολ[λ]ῇ διὰ Θεοδώρου  
 ἄλεσ[τρα] ἄρ[τ]ω(ν) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβης) α (τετρώβολον),  
 35 ἀρίστω γ[ε]ρ[δ]ί(ου) (ὀβολός),

ἀσπαράγω(ν) [δί]πνω Ἀντ(ᾶτος) ὅτ' εἰς  
 τὸ περίδ[ι]πνο(ν) Ἀθη( ) γναφέω(ς) (ἡμιωβέλιον),  
 καὶ παιδαρί[οι]ς δίπνω κράμβη(ς) (ἡμιωβέλιον),  
 π . . [.] . . παιδίω (ἡμιωβέλιον)  
 Parts of 2 lines.

25. Second ι of σαραπιον corr. from ο (?). 36. First α of ασπαραγω(ν) corr. from δ.

## Col. iv.

Parts of 4 lines.

46 ιγ. προ[σφαγ]ίου (ἡμιωβέλιον),  
 θρύων ἐ[ί]ς ἄρτους (ὀβολοὶ δύο) (ἡμιωβέλιον).  
 ιζ. γάλακτος παιδ(ῶν) (ἡμιωβέλιον),  
 ἄρτου καθαροῦ (ἡμιωβέλιον).  
 50 ιη. Σεκούντα παιδ(ῶν) ἱπρίου (ἡμιωβέλιον).  
 ιθ. τισάνης ὁμ(οίως) (ἡμιωβέλιον).  
 κ. ὄψαρίου (ὀβολός),  
 ἄρτου καθαροῦ (ἡμιωβέλιον),  
 εἰς κατανθρωπ(ισμὸν) Ἀντ(ῶν) (ὀβολοὶ δύο),  
 55 καὶ εἰς Ταπτολλοῦτος Καϊκιλ(ίου ?) (τριώβολον),  
 γενεσίους Τρυφᾶτος στεφά(νων) (ὀβολοὶ δύο),  
 γε(νε)σίους [.] . [.] . . ω( ) στεφά(νων) (ὀβολοὶ δύο).  
 κα. ῥόας παιδ(ῶν) [ ] (ὀβολός),  
 παιγνίω(ν) καὶ ἐπ(ο)ριω(ν) παιδ(ῶν) (ἡμιωβέλιον),  
 60 ζύτου (τριώβολον),  
 ὄψου (ὀβολός).  
 κβ. ὄψαρί[ο]ν (ὀβολός).  
 Part of 1 line.

50. ι. Σεκούντω (cf. l. 81). 54. αντ of αντω( ) rewritten.

## Col. v.

Parts of 4 lines.

- Θαῆσις [. . . ἡ]με(ρῶν) β [(πεντῶβολον),  
μήτηρ [Ἀμ]μωνᾶτο(ς) ἡμε(ρῶν) [  
70 Τααρπαῆσις ἡμε(ρῶν) [β] πεντῶβολον,  
Βεροῦς ὁμ(οίως) ἡμε(ρῶν) ι (δραχμαὶ) δ (ὀβολός).  
κδ. ἄλεστρα (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβης) α (τετρώβολον),  
ἀλμυρίδος μα( ) β (ὀβολοὶ δύο),  
ἀλδς (ὀβολός),  
75 λίνου καὶ ραφίδος (ὀβολός),  
ἄλεστρα (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβης) α διὰ Θεοδώ(ρου) (τετρώβολον),  
κέρκισ[τ]ρα φα[ι]νόλ(ου) (δραχμὴ) α (ὀβολοὶ δύο),  
ἄρτω(ν) καθαρῶ(ν) Φα[. . .]τω( ) (δραχμὴ) α,  
περιστερᾶς [πα]ιδ(ῶν) (ὀβολός),  
80 ἄρτου κ[αθαροῦ] ὁμ(οίως) (ἡμιωβέλιον),  
Σεκούντω παιδ(ῶν) ἱτρ[ίου] (ἡμιωβέλιον)  
καὶ σεμιδάρεως ξηρᾶς (ἡμιωβέλιον),  
γάλακτος (ἡμιωβέλιον),  
μύρου ε[ι]ς ταφῆς θυγατρὸς  
85 [Π]άσιτ[ο]ς (δραχμὴ) α.

82. 1. σεμιδάρεως.

On the verso opposite Col. v.

Parts of 2 lines.

- ι. αμ[. . .]γ( ) γυ[ν]αιξὶ συνα[. . .] (δραχμαὶ) β (τριῶβολον),  
πρ[ο]σφαγί(ων) ταῖς γυναιξὶ  
90 ἡμε(ρῶν) β (ὀβολοὶ δύο) (ἡμιωβέλιον),  
κόλλητρα λυχνίας (ὀβολοὶ δύο) (ἡμιωβέλιον),  
ἐρεβίνθων [ὄ]τε ὦδε  
ἐδείπνει . [. . .] . ι[ο]ς (ὀβολός) (ἡμιωβέλιον),



εἰς κατανθρωπισμὸν  
 95 Δα[ο]δίκης (ὀβολοὶ δύο?),  
 [[.]] εἰς τὰ ἀρτ. [...] . . . . (ὀβολοὶ δύο),  
 Στράτου εἰς τή[ν.]ε. ἀπ. s εἰσβολ(ήν) (δραχμαὶ?) δ,  
 [...] δαπανη( ) . . . τα . . . . s [  
 Ὑρ[ω]νι εἰς τ . . . ρ . . . κιθῶ(να?) (δραχμ?) [. .],  
 100 κόλλητρα χαλκ[ί]ο]ν (ἡμιωβέλιον).

'll. 1-95. The 21st: . . . through Zm . . . for the cloak of Coraxus, 10 drachmae; turnips for pickling 1 dr. 2 obols; for the kettle, payment for enamelling 2 ob.; salt 1 ob.; cost of grinding 1 artaba of wheat on the 18th 3 ob.; omelette for the bread 2 ob.; cost of mending the cloak of Coraxus 1½ ob.; for treating (?) the wife of Gemellus 4 ob.; perfume for the dispatch of the mummy of the daughter of Phna 4 ob. The 22nd: a chous of oil 4 dr. 4 ob.; wax and stilus for the children 1 ob.; pure bread for Prima ½ ob.; for treating Tyche 3 ob. 9th Mecheir . . . the 10th: . . . for the weaver's breakfast 1 ob.; . . . for the Sarapeum 2 ob.; pure bread for the children ½ ob.; beer for the weaver 1 ob.; leeks for the weaver's breakfast 1 ob.; a pigeon 1 ob.; to Antas 2 dr. 2 ob.; up at the city for the bread, cost of grinding 2 artabae of wheat, through Isas, 1 dr. 2 ob. The 11th: at the camp, through Theodorus, for the bread, cost of grinding 1 artaba of wheat 4 ob.; for the weaver's breakfast 1 ob.; asparagus for the dinner of Antas when (he went) to the funeral feast of Athe . . . the fuller ½ ob.; and to the slaves (?), for a cabbage for dinner ½ ob.; to the child ½ ob.; . . . The 16th: a relish ½ ob.; omelettes for the bread 2½ ob. The 17th: milk for the children ½ ob.; pure bread ½ ob. The 18th: to Secundas, a cake for the children ½ ob. The 19th: barley water for the same ½ ob. The 20th: sauce 1 ob.; pure bread ½ ob.; for treating Antonia 2 ob.; and for Taptollous daughter of Caecilius 3 ob.; on the birthday of Tryphas, for garlands 2 ob.; on the birthday of . . . for garlands 2 ob. The 21st: pomegranates for the children 1 ob.; playthings and . . . for the children 1 ob.; beer 3 ob.; sauce 1 ob. The 22nd: sauce 1 ob.; Thaësis . . . for 2 days 5 ob.; the mother of Ammonas for . days . . .; Taarpaësis for 2 days 5 ob.; Berous similarly for 10 days 4 dr. 1 ob. The 24th: cost of grinding 1 artaba of wheat 4 ob.; 2 . . . of pickle 2 ob.; salt 1 ob.; a needle and thread 1 ob.; cost of grinding 1 artaba of wheat, through Theodorus, 4 ob.; cost of weaving a cloak 1 dr. 2 ob.; pure bread for Ph . . . 1 dr.; a pigeon for the children 1 ob.; pure bread for the same ½ ob.; to Secundus for a cake for the children ½ ob., and for dry meal ½ ob.; milk ½ ob.; perfume for the mummy of the daughter of Pasis 1 dr. . . . The 10th: . . . for the women 2 dr. 3 ob.; relishes for the women on 2 days 2½ ob.; cost of tinkering a lamp 2½ ob.; pulse when . . . was dining here 1½ ob.; for treating Laodice 2½ ob.'

7. ἄλεστρα: cf. l. 10 ἥπητρα, l. 77 κέρκισ[τ]ρα, l. 91 κόλλητρα, 739. 4 σιτοπόητρα. ἥπητρα had already occurred in P. Tebt. 120 introd., where it should be regarded as a neuter plural, as should also ἔφαντρα in P. Tebt. 117. 37, &c.

11. εἰς κατανθρωπισμὸν: cf. ll. 17, 53, and 92, where the expression recurs, the object being apparently always a woman. Neither κατανθρωπισμός nor κατανθρωπίζειν appears to be otherwise attested.

28. The ω of ἀρίστω here and elsewhere is written above the line (so too δίνω in

l. 38), but probably the dative singular and not the genitive plural was intended; a final letter is similarly overwritten e. g. in l. 10 Κοράξου, l. 56 Τρυφᾶτος.

36. ὅτ' εἰς: sc. ἦλθε.

55. Ταπτολλοῦτος: sc. κατανθρωπισμόν. This is preferable to reading τὰ Πολλοῦτος.

59. επουριω(ν): the word is unknown and the reading quite doubtful. επ may be σπ or εισ.

84. ε[ι]ς ταφῆς: sc. ἀποστολήν; cf. l. 13.

96. The marks at the beginning of the line look more like a deleted letter than an abbreviation. The day of the month should have been further away to the left.

99. Possibly εἰς τ[ὸ]ν . . ., but there is hardly space for [ο].

## 737. LATIN ACCOUNT.

Height 22.3 cm. About A.D. 1. PLATE VIII. Col. i.

An account of wages paid on different days to 'weavers,' 'hired persons,' and a 'master' or 'foreman.' The wages, which are reckoned in asses, are at the rate of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  for a weaver, 4 for a 'hired man,' and 6 for the foreman. We give the text of two columns, which are contained on separate pieces of papyrus but seem to be consecutive; there is a large blank space after Col. ii, which was the end of the roll. A few small fragments of some other columns also remain. The account is written in a clear cursive hand which is probably of the reign of Augustus, the papyrus being one of a large find belonging practically entirely to that period. Points are commonly used after abbreviations (but not with *a* for *asses*) and the numerals of the days of the month, and are not infrequently added after words which are not abbreviated.

## Col. i.

	[a(n)te] d(iem) . Nonas Iu]lias	
	[condu]ctei	iv a(sses) xvi
	]ii textor(es)	ii [a(sses)] vii
	conductei	ii [a(sses)] viii
5	i]ix Idus textor(es)	ii a(sses) vii
	conductei	ii a(sses) viii
	vii Idus textor(es)	ii a(sses) vii
	conductei	ii a(sses) viii
	v] Idus textor(es)	ii a(sses) vii
10	co[n]ductei	ii a(sses) viii

	<i>v Idus textor(es) iii</i>	<i>a(sses)</i>	<i>x s(emis)</i>
	<i>magister</i>	<i>a(sses)</i>	<i>vi</i>
	<i>iv Idus textor(es) iii</i>	<i>a(sses)</i>	<i>x s(emis)</i>
	<i>magister</i>	<i>a(sses)</i>	<i>vi</i>
15	<i>iii I[dus] textor(es) iii</i>	<i>a(sses)</i>	<i>x s(emis)</i>
	<i>[m]agister</i>	<i>a(sses)</i>	<i>vi</i>

## Col. ii.

	<i>]ii Idus textor(es) iii</i>	<i>a(sses)</i>	<i>x s(emis)</i>
	<i>magister</i>	<i>a(sses)</i>	<i>vi</i>
	<i>]i Idus textor(es) iii</i>	<i>a(sses)</i>	<i>x s(emis)</i>
20	<i>magister</i>	<i>a(sses)</i>	<i>vi</i>
	<i>a(nte) d(iem) xiix K(alendas) Sextilias</i>		
	<i>textor(es) iii</i>	<i>a(sses)</i>	<i>x s(emis)</i>
	<i>magister</i>	<i>a(sses)</i>	<i>vi</i>

21. *a* of *sextilias* corr. from *l*(?).

2. *a(sses)*: this abbreviation is common in the Pompeian inscriptions; cf. C. I. L. IV, index. The occurrence of asses in an account of this kind is however very singular. Presumably the money though reckoned in asses was paid in obols, three of which would be the equivalent of 2 asses.

5. *i]ix*: cf. l. 21, where *xiix* is written for *xviii*; for the sums of asses, on the other hand, *viii* is regularly used.

17-9. If this column immediately follows Col. i, which from the dates seems most probable, there is nothing lost at the beginnings of these lines and *i* in l. 19 stands for *pridie*.

21. *Sextilias* is a curious form; the *a* has been corrected, but was apparently altered from another letter, not itself deleted. For the numeral *xiix* cf. note on l. 5.

## 738. ACCOUNT OF FOOD.

13.5 × 10.3 cm.

About A.D. 1.

A fragment of an account of articles of food consumed on different days; cf. 108. The ends of lines of a preceding column are preserved.

δίπνωνι €

δίπνωνι ζ



<i>Κανωπικὸν</i>	<i>ἀρτίδια β,</i>
<i>ἡπαρ.</i>	<i>ὄρνις σιδυτή ἐξ ὕδα(τος) α,</i>
<i>δίπνω 5.</i>	<i>10 πτέρυγες β.</i>
<i>5 ὄστρεα ι,</i>	<i>. . . . .</i>
<i>θρίδαξ α.</i>	

‘For dinner on the 5th a Canopic liver; for dinner on the 6th 10 oysters, 1 lettuce; for dinner on the 7th 2 small loaves, 1 bird . . . from the water, 2 snipe (?)’

9. *σιδυτή* is a new word. The *πτέρυγες* were probably smaller than the *ὄρνις*.

## 739. PRIVATE ACCOUNT.

32 × 10 cm.

About A.D. I.

A private account for a month, reckoned in silver drachmae and copper obols. Lines 1–2 mention a receipt, ll. 3–22 give an account of expenditure for various purposes. The account is written on the verso, the recto being blank.

	<i>ἔχει Ἰσᾶς παρὰ Ἀπολλωνίου</i>
	<i>ἀπὸ Κύνου (δραχμας) μ. [</i>
	<i>Λ δα(πάνης)· τι(μῆς) χι( ) [N]εχθεῦτι (δραχμαὶ) κη,</i>
	<i>σειτοποήτρων (δραχμῇ) α (τετρώβολον),</i>
5	<i>[[ἐλαίου (δραχμαὶ) δ (ὀβολοὶ δύο).]]</i>
δ.	<i>ἄλεστρα (πεντώβολον),</i>
	<i>κονίου εἰς πρ[ο]σφαγίου (ὀβολός).</i>
ε.	<i>κοφίνων γ (τετρώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον).</i>
ς.	<i>βατανίων (ὀβολοὶ δύο),</i>
10	<i>προσφαγίου οἰκοδ(όμου) (ὀβολός),</i>
	<i>ἐλαίου χούς (δραχμαὶ) δ (ὀβολοὶ δύο). / μ (τριώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον).</i>
ζ.	<i>προσφαγίου οἰκοδ(όμου) (ὀβολός).</i>
θ.	<i>ἐργάτου (τετρώβολον ?),</i>
	<i>οἰκοδ(όμου) πρ(οσφαγίου) (ὀβολός),</i>
15	<i>τέκτον[ος] . ]</i>
ιγ.	<i>τι(μῆς) ἐλα[ίου] (δραχμαὶ) δ (τριώβολον ?),</i>

πορφύρας (δραχμαὶ) κ,  
 στήμον[ος εἰς γυναι]κ[εῖ]ον  
           ἱμάτ[ε]ον . ]  
 20 Φιλουταρίω [. .] . [. .] . . [. .] . β . [  
 κβ. τι(μῆς) ἐλαίου [(δραχμαὶ) δ] (ὀβολοὶ δύο).  
           / [. .] .

5. This line enclosed in round brackets.      7. 1. πρ[ο]σφάγιον.

‘Isas has received from Apollonius, an inhabitant of Cynus, 4[.] drachmae. Deduct on account of expenses: price of . . . paid to Nechtheus 28 dr., for making bread 1 dr. 4 ob., (for oil 4 dr. 2 ob., erased). On the 4th, for grinding 5 ob., powder (?) for a relish 1 ob. 5th, 3 baskets 4½ ob. 6th, plates 2 ob., a relish for the builder 1 ob., a chous of oil 4 dr. 2 ob. Total 40 dr. 3½ ob. 7th, a relish for the builder 1 ob. 9th, for the workman 4 ob., a relish for the builder 1 ob., the carpenter . . . 13th, price of oil 4 dr. 3 ob., purple 20 dr., thread for a woman’s robe . . ., to Philoutarion . . . 22nd, price of oil 4 dr. 2 ob. Total . . .’

2. Κύνου, if correct, is the name of a village, but the writer is careless about his cases (cf. l. 7), and he may mean Κυνῶν, i. e. Cynopolis.

4. σειτοποήτρων: cf. the similar forms ἄλεστρα (l. 6), ἡπητρα, &c. (736. 10 and note on 736. 7).

5. The amount of oil which is not stated here and in l. 21 was no doubt 1 χοῦς: cf. l. 11.

## 740. ACCOUNT OF CORN.

21.2 × 46 cm.

About A.D. 200.

An account of corn, arranged according to different villages, apparently from the day-book of a private individual rather than an official. Of Col. i only the ends of lines are preserved, but Col. ii is practically complete, and Col. iii has lost only a few letters at the ends of lines. There is also a detached fragment (not printed) belonging to another column.

Cols. i and ii are apparently concerned with corn paid out, and the sum given in ll. 28–9, added to the 30 artabae accounted for in ll. 30–1, is subtracted from a previously mentioned total, leaving the remainder stated in l. 32. The rest of Col. iii deals with receipts from rents. The papyrus provides some interesting new information about the names and character of different measures of corn, and a curious conversion occurs in l. 29. On the verso are copies of

petitions to Septimius Severus and Caracalla (705), and the 9th year mentioned in l. 36 of the recto no doubt refers to these emperors.

## Col. i.

Ends of 13 lines.

- 14 [Μερμέρθων· γ]νησίων δη-  
 15 [μοσίων] os διδομε-  
 16 [ν διὰ γε]ωργ(οῦ) Μερμ(έρθων)

## Col. ii.

- 17 μιᾶς ἀντὶ μιᾶς μέτρῳ σιτολ(ογικῶ?) Ἑρων[. . .] . ν (ἀρτάβαι) [. .  
 18 Σερύφεως· μέτ(ρῳ) δ(ημοσίῳ) μιᾶ[s] ἀντὶ μιᾶς ἐμβ( ) (ἀρτάβαι) κβ χ(οίνικες) ζ,  
 19 καὶ ἐδόθησαν ὑπὲρ φορέτρου ὀνηλ(ατῶν) (ἀρτάβαι) . χ(οίνικες) γ.  
 20 Πέλα· ἰδιωτικῶς μέτ(ρῳ) δ(ημοσίῳ) διὰ Πασαλύμιος  
 21 γεωργ(οῦ) Πέλα θέμ(ατος) ἀπὸ (ἀρταβῶν) κς τὸ γ' (ἀρτάβαι) η (ἥμισυ)  
 χ(οίνικες) ζ,  
 22 καὶ ἐδόθ(η) ὑπὲρ φορέτ(ρου) ὀνηλ(ατῶν) καὶ σιτολο[γικο]ῦ καὶ  
 23 σιτομετρικοῦ τῶν προκ(ειμένων) (ἀρταβῶν) η (ἡμίσιους) χ(οινίκων) ζ  
 (ἀρτάβης) (ἥμισυ τέταρτον) χ(οίνικες) β.  
 24 Παώμεως· ἐμετρήθ(ησαν) σιτολ(όγοις) [. . . . .] . (ἀρτάβαι) ιε,  
 25 καὶ ἐδόθ(ησαν) ὑπ(ὲρ) φορέτ(ρου) ὀνηλ(ατῶν) καὶ σιτομ[ετ(ρικοῦ)] τῶν  
 προκ(ειμένων) (ἀρταβῶν) ιε (ἀρταβ ) . χ(οίνικες)] γ.  
 26 Σενεκελεύ· ἐμετρήθ(ησαν) σιτολ(όγοις) θέμα[τος . . . . . (ἀρτάβαι)] . ,  
 27 καὶ ἐδόθ(ησαν) ὑπ(ὲρ) σιτολογ(ικοῦ) καὶ φορέτ(ρου) χ(οίνικες) [.]  
 28 / ἀναλώμ(ατος) ἰδιωτ(ικῶς) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) νβ δ' χ(οίνικες) β,  
 29 αἱ θέματος δημοσίου καθαροῦ (ἀρτάβαι) μθ (ἥμισυ τέταρτον) χ(οίνικες) θ.  
 30 καὶ ἐπράθησαν ὥς ἐπάνω [διὰ τοῦ] γ λογοῦ δεδήλωται  
 31 ἐπὶ μηνὸς Μεσορῇ [(ἀρτάβαι) λ] (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) λ.

## Col. iii.

- 32 λοιπαὶ [ι]διωτικῶς πυρ[οῦ] ἀρτάβαι . .  
 33 καὶ ἐν θέματι ὁμοίως διδομένου ὑπὸ γ[εωργ(ῶν)] . . . . .  
 34 κατὰ μίσθωσιν [(ἀρτάβαι) . .



- 35 Θώλθεως· ἐμετ(ρήθησαν) διὰ Ἑρᾶτος γεωργ(οῦ) Θεω[... (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) . .  
 36 ὁ αὐ(τὸς) ἀπὸ σπερμ(άτων) θ (ἔτους) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) γ, / [(πυροῦ)  
 (ἀρτάβαι) .
- 37 Πέλα· ἐν πεδίοις Σενοκωμ[.] . . παρὰ [ . . . . .  
 38 Διογένους τοῦ Σαραπ(ίωνος) γεω[ργ(οῦντος)] . . . ( ) περὶ Πέλα [ . . . . .  
 39 σας Σενοκωμ( ) . . ἀπὸ (ἀρταβῶν) λ τὸ [ . . . . .  
 40 Κεσμύχεως· παρὰ Παθώτου Μοιμῆς[.]χ( ) γε[ωργ(οῦντος)] . . . . .  
 41 (ἀρούρας) η (ἥμισυ τέταρτον) ἀπὸ (ἀρταβῶν) κη τὸ γ' [(ἀρτάβαι) θ . . .  
 42 παρὰ Ἑρακλείδου ἐπιτρόπου Ἑρ[α]κλ[εί]ας . . [ . . . . . ἡ ἡ-  
 43 σπόρησεν ἐπὶ Μαγδάλ(ων) κοι(νῇ) πρὸς Ἑρακλείδην) κατ[ὰ τὸ (ἥμισυ) γ'  
 44 καὶ πρὸς τὴν μήτ(ερα) τῶν ἀφηλ(ίκων) κ[α]τὰ τὸ ἡ' κα[ὶ πρὸς τοὺς  
 45 ἀφήλ(ικας) κατὰ τὸ κδ', ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἄρουραι) κδ' . [ . . ] . λ[ . . . . .  
 46 ἐγ μέρ[ο]υ(s) (ἀρουρῶν) ις, χέρσου καὶ χα(μάτων?) καὶ ἀλμ(υρίδος)  
 [ . . . . .  
 47 τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ) [μ]έρο(υς) τῶν ἀφηλ(ίκων) (ἄρουρα) α (ἥμισυ) . [ . . ] . επη( ) γ'  
 α [ . . . . .  
 48 [ . . ] . . [ . . ] . ( ) ε[ . ] ι . οι ( ) ὅλων γ' ε[ . . . . . ] . . ( ) (ἀρτάβαι) ι . [ . . . . .  
 49 / θέμα[το]ς (ἀρτάβαι) [ . ] γ (ἥμισυ).

14. Μερμέρθων (cf. 823) is restored from l. 16; cf. the position of Πέλα in ll. 20-1. The genitive Μερμέρθων occurs in a papyrus found last winter. γ[νησίων] δη[μοσίων]: cf. P. Amh. 86. 10 and note. ἀρταβεία and ναύβιον are meant, though perhaps not exclusively.

17. μᾶς ἀντὶ μᾶς: cf. l. 18, and P. Amh. 87. 21-2, note. The meaning here is that half the artabae were paid on one measure (the name of which is lost in ll. 14-6), half on the measure σιτολ( ), which is new and which we have supposed to be σιτολ(ογικῶ) on the analogy of μέτρον ἀγορανόμικῶ in 836.

18. ἐμβ( ): this measure is also new. Perhaps ἐμβ(ολικῶ), i. e. the measure generally used in corn sent by boat to Alexandria. It was no doubt smaller than the δημόσιον μέτρον; cf. l. 21, note.

20. ἰδιωτικῶς: the point of this remark (cf. ll. 28 and 32) is not quite clear. We might suppose that the writer was contrasting the present private payment with other official ones in the same account, but from l. 28 it appears that all the items in Col. ii concern his private account, and to assume that he failed to keep official and private accounts distinct is not satisfactory. An alternative explanation is to suppose that ἰδιωτικῶς refers not to the nature of the account but to the character of the corn; cf. ll. 28-9, where an amount of corn which is apparently ἰδιωτικῶς is converted into a slightly smaller sum θέματος δημοσίου καθαροῦ, and note *ad loc.* But since the payment in l. 19, although ἰδιωτικῶς, is μέτ(ρῳ) δη(μοσίῳ), ἰδιωτικῶς cannot refer to a private measure, and would be a curious expression to imply that the corn in question was not καθαρός.

21.  $\frac{1}{3}$  of 26 artabae is  $8\frac{2}{3}$  art., a sum which the writer expresses by  $8\frac{1}{2}$  art. 7 choenices.

This implies, if his arithmetic is correct, the artaba of 42 choenices, the largest of the different artabae in use in Egypt, and in the fourth century called the artaba φορικῶ (μέτρῳ) (P. Brit. Mus. 125; cf. P. Tebt. I. pp. 232-3). The fact that it is the artaba of 42 choenices which is here μέτρῳ δημοσίῳ is important, for the official artaba in Roman times has been often supposed to be much smaller, though, as we pointed out (P. Tebt. *ibid.*), on insufficient grounds. But it would not be safe to infer from the present passage alone that the mention of μέτρῳ δημοσίῳ in Roman times always implied an artaba of 42 choenices.

22-3. These charges for donkey transport, with the σιτολογικόν (a new term, probably meaning a *bakhshish* for the σιτολόγος) and σιτομετρικόν (also new as an impost for measuring the corn), all of which are supplementary of the main payment (cf. ll. 19, 25, and 27), are probably included in the προσμετρούμενα which occur in the official receipts of this period; cf. P. Tebt. I. pp. 411-2.

24. σιτολ(όγοις): this does not necessarily imply that the payment was for taxation purposes; cf. P. Oxy. III. p. 251.

28-9. The sum of the foregoing items,  $52\frac{1}{4}$  artabae 2 choenices, is here converted into  $49\frac{3}{4}$  art. 8 choen. θέματος δημοσίου καθαροῦ, whatever that precisely means. The reduction is probably due to two causes at least, (1) the fact that in the preceding items artabae of different sizes were employed, and that some of them were smaller than the artaba meant in l. 29, which very likely contained 42 choenices (cf. l. 21, note); (2) the fact that these artabae ιδιωτ(ικῶς) were partially or even wholly not καθαραί; cf. P. Tebt. I. 92. 9-11.

30. The doubtful γ has a horizontal stroke over it and seems to mean '3rd'. αὐ(τοῦ) cannot be read.

35. Θεω[ : Θώλθεως (cf. l. 14, note) or at least a place name would be expected.

41. Since we do not know which artaba was being employed, it is uncertain how the writer expressed  $\frac{1}{3}$  art. at the end of the line.

44. The μήτηρ τῶν ἀφηλίκων, if Ἡρακλεῖ(δην) is right in l. 43, is the Ἡρακλεία mentioned in l. 42.

## 741. LIST OF ARTICLES.

16.5 x 9.5 cm.

Second century.

A list of miscellaneous articles, containing, as such lists commonly do, a number of rare or unknown words.

Δόγ(ος) ἐντολικῶν Εὐγενέτο-	ἵππικόν	α,
[ρο]ς ἐν δισακιδίῳ	κελλάριον τριλάγυνον	α,
σφυρὶς διπλῇ καρύων	βι . [.]ων ἀναβολή	α,
ἄλλα μεικρά	προχείρια	β,
5 γεργαθὸς	15 ἐν οἷς ὑελα(ῖ) ἡμισυν-	
ἀρνακὶς	θέσεις	γ,

ψήκτρα	α,	ποτηρίων δεκατ( ) δ ποτ( ) α,
σόλια ἀρσενικὰ ξεύγ(η) η,		βάτελλαι δ,
[γυ]ναικεῖα ξεύγ(η) ς,		σκουτλία β,
10 σανδάλια ὄνικ(α) β,		20 ὀξύβαφον [[.] α.

7. τ of ψήκτρα above the line.

11. ἵππικον Pap.

15. ὕελα Pap.

‘Account of articles at order of Eugeneter in a double sack:—1 double basket of nuts, 5 other small ones, 1 wicker crate, 1 sheepskin, 1 scraper, 8 pairs of men’s . . . , 6 pairs of women’s ditto, 2 donkey straps (?), 1 horse’s ditto, 1 three-flagon jar, 1 bag (?) of . . . , 2 hold-alls containing 3 half-sets of glass, 4 . . . cups and 1 . . . , 4 plates, 2 bowls, 1 saucer.’

4. ἄλλα(ι) μεικρα(ι) should perhaps be read, as the writer seems to have a tendency to omit final ι (cf. l. 15) and five baskets must be meant; but the neuter may refer to κάρυα.

5. γεργαθός is probably for γυργαθός, meaning a wicker basket.

8. σόλια: or perhaps σέλια, which however is still more difficult. σόλιον might be a diminutive of σόλος or an adjective from σόλοι, but neither is very suitable. It is hardly likely that the word is connected with στολή, for which σολή was a late Attic form (cf. Du Cange *s.v.*), though some article of attire is evidently meant. Mr. Smyly suggests a connexion with the Latin *soliar*.

10. σανδάλια may mean ‘bands’ of some kind, the word being used for a medical bandage by Oribasius. But the reading is extremely doubtful; the second letter could be ε and of the first only the smallest vestiges remain.

12. For κελλάριον cf. P. Brit. Mus. 191. 9.

13. ἀναβολή, since it governs a genitive plural, looks like a receptacle of some kind, a sense in which ἀναβολίδιον is found in Macarius, *Apophth. Patr.* 33 ἀναβολίδιον μεστὸν ψωμίων. In the preceding word the vestiges before the lacuna suit only a round letter such as β, θ, ο, or σ; possibly βίβ[λ]ων. There are two dots like a diacresis above the ι, but they are perhaps accidental.

14. προχείρια are cases or boxes, since they contained glass; but the word is apparently new.

15. Mr. Smyly compares Martial iv. 46. 15 *septenaria synthesis*.

17. The cups are divided into two kinds, but what these are is obscure.

18. βάτελλαι: probably the Latin *patella*.

19. σκουτλία: cf. P. Brit. Mus. 191. 10 and a gloss cited by Du Cange from Cod. Reg. 2062 τρύβλιον σκουτλον.



## (g) PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE.

## 742. LETTER OF ANTAS.

26.5 × 13.7 cm.

B.C. 2.

A letter from Antas to Faustus, chiefly concerning reeds (*κάλαμος*), written like many other letters of this period in vulgar Greek.

Ἀντᾶς Φ[αύσ]τῳ πλεῖστα χαίρειν.  
 παράλαβε παρὰ Πόθου τὸν κάλα-  
 μ[ο]ν πανα[ρ]ιθμῶι καὶ ἀπόστειλόν  
 μ[ο]ι πόσας δέσμας παρείληφες  
 5 καὶ θ[έ]ς αὐτὰς εἰς τόπον ἀσ-  
 φαλῶς ἵνα τῇ ἀναβάσει αὐτὰς  
 ἄξωμεν. παράδος δέ τινι  
 τῶν φίλων ἀριθμῶ αὐτὰς ἵνα  
 πάλιν φ[ί]λος ἡμεῖν παραδοῖ  
 10 ἀσφ[αλῶς,] καὶ ἐάν τι δύνη  
 σὺ ἐ[. . .]ναί μοι δὸς ἐργασί-  
 α[ν . . . . .]σα ἐμὲ ἡγορακέναι  
 παρ[ὰ . . . ο]ν τὴν χιλίαν δέσμην  
 (δραχμῶν) δεκάπ[εν]τε. μὴ ἀμελήσης.  
 15 ἔρρωσο.  
 (ἔτους) κη [Κα]ίσαρος Παῦνι α.

On the verso

Φαυστῶι [. . . . .]εἶπεν . ( ) εἰς Νέκλῃ.

‘Antas to Faustus, many greetings. Take over from Pothus the reeds all together, and send me word how many bundles you have received, and put them in a safe place in order that we may take them on the journey up. Deliver a certain number of them to one of our friends in order that a friend may deliver them to me safely, and if you can . . . give your attention to it . . . I have bought from (Pothus?) the 1000 bundles for 15 drachmae. Don’t forget. Good-bye. The 28th year of Caesar, Pauni 1. (Addressed) To Faustus . . . at Nekle.’

## 743. LETTER TO A FRIEND.

21.5 × 17.7 cm.

B.C. 2.

A letter in two columns, of which the first is much broken. The greater part is concerned with the explanation of the writer's reasons for sending Damas, whom he recommends to his friend's good offices.

## Col. i.

Parts of 16 lines.

- 17 ] θέλω δέ σε καὶ τὸν Καίσαρος  
] ἀναγνοῦναι, δεῖ γάρ σε

## Col. ii.

- εἰ καὶ π[ρ]ὸς ἄλλους εἶχον πρᾶγμα  
20 βοηθὸν αὐτοῦ γ[ε]νέσθαι διὰ ἣν  
ἔχομε(ν) πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς φιλίαν. καὶ  
γὰρ ἐγὼ ὅλος διαπον[ο]ῦμαι εἰ "Ελε-  
νος χαλκοὺς ἀπόλε[σ]εν, παραγενομ(ένου)  
γὰρ Δαμάτος εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἦλ-  
25 θαμεν ἐπὶ Ἐπαφρόδειτον καὶ εὐρέ-  
θη μήτε εἰληφὼς μήτε δεδωκώ(s).  
ὥστ' ἂν τοῦτό σε θέλω γεινώσκειν  
ὅτι ἐγὼ αὐτῷ διαστολὰς δεδῶκειν  
τὸ βαδίσαι εἰς Τακόνα χάριν τῶν ἐκ-  
30 φορίων καὶ τὰ νῦν ἐπειπέπομφα  
αὐτὸν πάντα συνλέξαι καὶ περὶ πάν-  
των αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν δέδωκα.  
ἐν οἷς ἐὰν σοῦ προσδεῇται συνπροσ-  
γενέσθαι αὐτῷ ὥς ἀνθομολογη(σομένῳ)  
35 ὑπέρ σου οὕτως ὥς ὑπ(έρ) μου. ἐν τῷ δέ  
με περισπᾶσθαι οὐκ ἡδυνάσθη  
συντυχεῖν Ἀπολλωνίῳ τῷ Λιβικῷ ἵνα  
αὐτῷ αὐτὰ ταῦτα ὑποδείξω. καὶ σὺ

δὲ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔαν θέλῃς γράφε μοι καὶ ἀνό-  
 40 κνωσ ποήσω, Δαμῆς γάρ μοι ἀνθωμολ(ογήσατο)  
 πάντα. καλῶς δὲ γέγονεν τὸ ταχὺ  
 αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν, ὑφηγήσεται γάρ σοι.  
 [σ]εατο(ῦ) ἐπιμε(λοῦ) ἵν' ὑγι(αίνῃς). ἐπισκοπ(οῦ) τοὺς σοὺς πάντε(ς).  
 ἔρρω[σο.] (ἔτους) κθ Καίσαρος Φαῶ(φι) 5.

20. ν of ην corr.

22. l. ὅλως.

23. l. ἀπώλε[σ]εν.

43. l. πάντα(ς).

'... I wish you and the ... of Caesar to read this (?), for although I (?) have had trouble with others you must assist him for the sake of our friendship. I am quite upset at Helenos' loss of the money; for when Damas arrived at Alexandria we came to Epaphroditus, and it was discovered that he had neither received nor paid anything. I wish you therefore to know this that I had given him orders to go to Takona for the rents, and now I have dispatched him to collect them all and have entrusted to him the care of the whole matter. Whatever service he may require from you, stand by him, as he will agree in everything for you just as for me. Owing to my worries I was unable to meet Apollonius the Libyan in order to inform him of this. Write to me yourself about anything you want, and I will do it without hesitation; for Damas has agreed in everything with me. It is well for him to come quickly, for he will instruct you. Take care of yourself so that you may remain in good health. Look after all your household. Good-bye. The 29th year of Caesar, Phaophi 6.'

18. Some word like οἰκονόμον is probably to be supplied at the beginning.

19. εἶχον whether first singular or third plural is difficult; εἶχες would be expected.

34. ἀνθομολογη(σομένω): cf. P. Tebt. 21. 6, P. Par. 42. 7.

## 744. LETTER OF ILARION.

25 X 14.7 cm.

B.C. I.

A letter from a man who had gone to Alexandria, addressed to his sister (who was no doubt his wife), and to two other women, regarding certain domestic matters. A curious injunction occurs in ll. 9-10.

Ἰλαρίων{α} Ἄλιτι τῇ ἀδελφῇ πλείστα χαί-  
 ρειν καὶ Βεροῦτι τῇ κυρίᾳ μου καὶ Ἀπολλω-  
 νάρην. γίνωσκε ὥς ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν Ἀλεξαν-  
 δρε(ί)α (ἔ)σμεν· μὴ ἀγωνιᾶς ἔαν ὅλως εἰσ-  
 5 πορεύονται, ἐγὼ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρε(ί)α μένω.

R 2



ἐρωτῶ σε καὶ παρακαλῶ σε ἐπιμελή-  
 θ(ητ)ι τῷ παιδίῳ καὶ ἐὰν εὐθὺς ὀψώνι-  
 ον λάβωμεν ἀποστελῶ σε ἄνω. ἐὰν  
 πολλαπολλων τέκης ἐὰν ἦν ἄρσε-  
 10 νον ἄφες, ἐὰν ἦν θήλεα ἔκβαλε.  
 εἴρηκας δὲ Ἀφροδισιᾶτι ὅτι μή με  
 ἐπιλάθης· πῶς δύναμαί σε ἐπι-  
 λαθεῖν; ἐρωτῶ σε οὖν ἵνα μὴ ἀγω-  
 νιάσης.  
 15 (ἔτους) κθ Καίσαρος Παῦνι κγ.

On the verso

Ἰλαρίων Ἀλιτι ἀπόδος.

2. l. Ἀπολλωναρίῳ. 8. l. σοι. 11. δε above the line.

‘Ilarion to Alis his sister, many greetings, and to my dear Berous and Apollonarion. Know that I am still even now at Alexandria; and do not worry if they come back altogether (?), but I remain at Alexandria. I urge and entreat you to be careful of the child, and if I receive a present soon I will send it up to you. If (Apollonarion?) bears offspring, if it is a male let it be, if a female expose it. You told Aphrodisias “Don’t forget me.” How can I forget you? I urge you therefore not to worry. The 29th year of Caesar, Pauni 23. (Addressed.) Deliver from Ilarion to Alis.’

8-10. ἐὰν πολλαπολλων τέκης is very obscure. If the second person τέκης is right, this passage must refer to the exposure of a female infant. But πολλά would be most extraordinary, apart from the difficulty of constructing πολλῶν. If τέκης is altered to τέκη we might suppose that an animal was the subject and divide πολλ(ᾶ) Ἀπόλλων; but Ἀπόλλων is not a likely name for an animal. Perhaps πολλαπολλων conceals Ἀπολλωνάριον (cf. l. 2); for the use of the second person cf. e. g. 295. 7.

#### 745. LETTER TO GAIUS RUSTIUS.

11.1 x 18.8 cm.

About A.D. 1.

Conclusion of a letter, chiefly concerned with money matters. The writer had evidently been in financial difficulties, and was afraid of their recurrence; but the loss of the beginning of the letter makes the transactions under discussion rather obscure. The addressee has a Roman name.

ἀδελφῆς μ[ου οἶνον κεράμια ἑξή[κοντ]α [πέ]ντε καὶ δραχ[μὰς δέ]κα τ[δ]ν  
 δὲ οἶνον ἡγόρασας ἐκ (δραχμῶν) ἑξ, ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ ἔθου χειρόγραφον [διὰ  
 Ἀρ]τεμᾶτός  
 μοι περὶ τοῦ αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀντᾶν ἀποστήσειν διὰ τὸ κ . [ . . . . . ] κέναι  
 ὥς καὶ ὑπέσχου διὰ τοῦ πολειτάρχου Θεοφίλου, μ[ὴ . . ] ν[ε] . [ . ] ν[α] ἄνω-  
 5 θεν γείνηται πάντα καὶ πάλιν ἑατοὺς ἀνασκευάζωμε[ν] μὴ οὔσης  
 χρήας. οὐκ οἶδας γὰρ πῶς μοι ἐχρήσατο ἐν Ὀξύρυγχοις οὐχ ὥς λύσα(ν)τι  
 ἀλλ' ὥς τινί ποτε ἀποστερητῇ μὴ ἀποδεδωκότι. ἐρωτῶ οὖν σε  
 μὴ ἄλλως ποῆσαι, οἶδα δὲ ὅτι πάντα καλῶς ποιήσεις. οὐ θέλω  
 γὰρ ἀμφισβήτησιν πρὸς σὲ ἔχειν φίλον μου ὅ[ν]τα. ἀ[σ]πάξου πάντας  
 10 τοὺς σοὺς καὶ σεαυτοῦ ἐπιμέλου ἵν' ὑγιαίνης. ἔρρωσο.

On the verso

Γαίωι ῥουστίωι [

6. υ of ουκ corr. from ι.

' . . . from my sister 65 jars of wine and 10 drachmae, and you bought the wine at  
 6 drachmae, for which you drew me up a bond through Artemas that the said Antas  
 would make the repayment because you had . . . as you promised through the politarch  
 Theophilus, in order that everything may not be completely . . . and we go bankrupt again  
 without any necessity. You don't know how he treated me at Oxyrhynchus(?), not like  
 a man who had paid but like a defrauder and a debtor. I ask you therefore not to do  
 otherwise; but I know that you will do everything well. I do not want to have any  
 dispute with you, as you are my friend. Salute all your household, and take care of your  
 health. Good-bye. (Addressed) To Gaius Rustius . . . '

4. πολειτάρχου: πολειτάρχαι are known at Thessalonica from Acts xvii. 6 and C. I. G. 1967, but the title is new in Egyptian papyri.

The mutilated word before ἄνωθεν is most likely a perfect participle; the letter before η[ seems to be λ, σ, or τ.

6. ἐν Ὀξύρυγχοις: a village Ὀξύρνηχα is known in the Fayûm but not in the Oxyrhynchite nome, and it is difficult to believe that the metropolis is not here meant, though Ὀξύρνηχων or Ὀξύρνηχων πόλις is the normal form. The sentence οὐκ οἶδας . . . ἀποδεδωκότι may be interrogative.

## 746. LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION.

23.2 × 13.5 cm.

A.D. 16.

A letter from Theon to his brother Heraclides, a basilicogrammateus, introducing the bearer, Hermophilus. Theon is perhaps the same as the writer of 292, a similar letter of recommendation addressed to the dioecetes on behalf of a brother named Heraclides. Cf. also 787.

Θέων Ἡρακλείδῃ τῷ ἀδελφῷ  
 πλείστα χαίρειν καὶ ὑγιαίνειν.  
 Ἑρμόφιλος (ὁ) ἀποδ[ι]δούς σοι τὴν  
 ἐπιστολήν [ἐ]στ[ι] . [ . ] . κ[ . ] μ . φ[ . ] ηρ!  
 5 [ . ] ἐρίου, καὶ ἠρώτησέν με γράψαι σοι.  
 [π]ροφέρεται ἔχειν πραγμάτιον  
 [ἐν τῇ] Κερκεμούνι. τοῦτο οὖν ἐάν  
 σοι φα[ί]νηται σπουδάσεις κατὰ τὸ  
 δίκαιον. τὰ δ' ἄλλα σεαυτοῦ ἐπιμελοῦ  
 10 ἵν' ὑγιαίνῃς.  
 ἔρρωσο.

(ἔτους) γ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Φαῶφι γ.

On the verso

Ἡρακλείδῃ βα(σιλικῷ) γρ(αμματεῖ) Ὁξύ(ρυγχίτου) Κυνοπ(ολίτου).

'Theon to Heraclides his brother, many greetings and wishes for good health. Hermophilus the bearer of this letter is (the friend or relative) of . . erius, and asked me to write to you. Hermophilus declares that he has business at Kerkemounis. Please therefore further him in this matter, as is just. For the rest take care of yourself that you may remain in good health. Good-bye. The 3rd year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Phaophi 3. (Addressed) To Heraclides, basilicogrammateus of the Oxyrhynchite and Cynopolite nomes.'

4. The letters ]στ[ are on a separate fragment, the position of which is doubtful.

13. There seems to be an ellipse of καί after Ὁξύ(ρυγχίτου), though the fact that a basilicogrammateus should have more than one nome under his jurisdiction is remarkable.



## 747. INVITATION TO A FEAST.

5.1 × 7.3 cm.

Late second or third century.

An invitation to a feast given by a cavalry officer ; cf. 110 and 523.

Καλεῖ σε ὁ (δεκάδαρ)χ(ος) εἰς τὴν ξενί-  
αν ἐαυτοῦ τῇ 5 Καλάν-  
δαις ἀπὸ ὥρ(ας) η.

2. υτ of εαυτου corr. from ν.

‘The decurion invites you to his party on the sixth day before the Calends at eight o’clock.’

## V. COLLATIONS OF HOMERIC FRAGMENTS

(The collations of *Il.* i–xii and the *Odyssey* are with the text of Ludwich, those of *Il.* xiii–xxiv with that of La Roche.)

### (a) *Iliad.*

- 748.** 16.1 × 6.6 cm. Ends of i. 107–116, with occasional stops and elision-marks. 108 ο]υδ[ε] τελεσσας. 113 Κ[λυται]μηστρης. Third century, written in sloping oval uncials of good size.
- 749.** 10.3 × 10 cm. Ends of i. 160–176 from the bottom of a column. Second century, written in heavy round uncials.
- 750.** 8 × 6.3 cm. Parts of ii. 57–73. 62 τ]οσσσ[α. 63 εμεθ]ες. 65 ε]κελευε. Third century, written in sloping oval uncials.
- 751.** 19.6 × 9.2 cm. Part of a column containing iii. 30–55, with numerous stops and accents, and several corrections (probably by a second hand). 37 υιος. 40 οφε]λος. First ο of άγονος above an α crossed out. 47 αγειρα[s corrected from εγειρει[s. 48 γ of ανηγες above the line. 50 πολληι corr. from πολιη. 51 κατηφείη. 53 ][[.]]φωτος. s of εχεις above the line. 54 οι of χράισμοι above η crossed out. Late second or third century, written in a neat uncial hand of the oval type.
- 752.** 11 × 8 cm. Beginnings of iv. 87–96, with numerous stops, breathings and accents. 93 The first hand had η ρ α]ν μοι; a second hand seems to have corrected ν and has added δε above μοι. Third century, written in sloping oval uncials.
- 753.** 19.2 × 6.4 cm. On the recto part of a second or third century account. On the verso parts of iv. 364–398, with numerous stops, breathings and accents. 369 is omitted, as in A. 378 εστρατων][[.]]θ[. 381 παρ άι[σια. 382 ώχοντο ιδ[ε corr. to ωχοντ ηδ[ε(?). 387 ε of εων above the line. Third century, written in sloping oval uncials.
- 754.** 5.5 × 2.5 cm. On the recto ends of 7 lines of a document mentioning a ζυμουργ(ός). First century. On the verso a few letters from iv. 532–539. 535 πεδε[μιχθη. First century, written in a good-sized irregular uncial hand.
- 755.** 19 × 6 cm. On the recto part of a document in a cursive hand of the early part of the third century. On the verso a few letters from the ends

- of v. 130-173, forming a complete column, with numerous stops, accents, breathings, and marks of elision and quantity (all probably added later). 134 ε]μ[[ε]]ίχθη. 151 ἐξενά]ριξεν. 153 ι of λυγ]ρωι added by a second hand. Third century, written in an upright hand of the oval type.
- 756.** 6.8 × 8.2 cm. Fragment of the bottom of a leaf from a book, containing on the recto the ends of v. 324-334, and on the verso parts of 379-390, with elision-marks. 332 κυρανεουσai. 382 τετ]λατι. 384 λγ of αλγε[ corr. 388 θ of ενθ added above the line (?). απολυτο. 390 η of εξηγγειλεν above α, which is crossed through, ξ having been also corrected. Late third or fourth century, written in a semi-uncial hand.
- 757.** 4.2 × 3 cm. Parts of v. 578-586. 582 εγ δ. First century, written in round uncials.
- 758.** 9.6 × 11.4 cm. v. 583-596, the lines being nearly complete, from the top of a column, with stops, breathings, accents and elision-marks. 583 ελεφ[αν]τα. 586 δε και. 587 ειστηκει. 588 ιππων . . . πεσον εν. Late second or third century, written in a neat uncial hand of the oval type.
- 759.** 12.7 × 2.9 cm. A few letters from the ends of v. 662-682, from the end of a column, with stops (high and low point) and accents. 667 αμ]φis έποντ[ες, confirming the conjecture of Brandreth. Third century, written in a neat upright uncial hand of the oval type.
- 760.** Fr. (b) 7.3 × 4.9 cm. Two fragments, the first containing a few letters from the beginnings of v. 715-718, the second parts of 720-729. 724 ε of χρυσση above the line. First century, written in round upright uncials.
- 761.** 21 × 11 cm. On the recto part of an effaced document. On the verso vi. 147 and 148, and, after a lacuna which may have contained 2 lines, parts of ll. 147 and 149 and another line, the whole being a writing exercise. 148 τηλεθωσα. Late first century B.C., written in a large semi-uncial hand.
- 762.** 19.8 × 8.5 cm. On the recto ends of lines of a list of persons, written in a cursive hand in the late second or early third century. On the verso the latter parts of vii. 1-35, forming a complete column. 5 ελατησιν. 16 δυντο. 30 μαχησ]ομεθ. 31 omitted. Third century, written in small upright uncials.
- 763.** 24.4 × 10 cm. Part of a leaf from a book, containing on the recto the latter portions of vii. 68-101, and on the verso the earlier portions of 69-134, with stops, breathings and accents. 72 ν of ποντοποροισιν added by a second hand. 73 Παναχαιων. 77 ι of έληι added above the line by a second hand. 112 Final ι of Πριαμιδηι added above the line by a second hand. τον τε τρομ[εουσι (a new reading; cf. υποτρομέουσι in Vindob. 61). 113 Αχιλλευς.



- 133 ι of *ωκυρωι* added above the line by a second hand. Third century, written in good-sized oval uncials.
- 764.** 9.6 × 2.8 cm. A few letters from the beginnings of viii. 109–122, with stops, breathings and accents. Third century, written in oval uncials.
- 765.** 8.1 × 5.4 cm. Ends of ix. 320–333, with stops, breathings and accents (oxytones having a grave accent on the final syllable). 323 First ι of *προφερηισι* added above the line. 324 δέ τέ. 325 υ of *ιανον* above λλ crossed out. Third century, written in oval uncials.
- 766.** 5.8 × 5.8 cm. A few letters from the ends of x. 542–547, from the bottom of a column, with occasional accents. Third century, written in sloping oval uncials.
- 767.** 6.6 × 4.3 cm. A few letters from the ends of xi. 555–561, with stops. Second century, written in good-sized round uncials.
- 768.** 14 × 12.9 cm. Fragment from the top of a column, containing parts of xi. 736–764. 739 *Αυ[γ]ειδαο*. 740 ξ] *ανθ[η]ν* [.] *να[μη]δ[η]ν*. 750 *απαλαξα*. 755 [α] *υρος*. 756 *Βουβρ[ασ]ιου*. 757 *Αλεσι[ου]*. 758 *Παλλας Αθηνη*. 760 *Βουβρασιου*. Third century, written in sloping oval uncials.
- 769.** Fr. (a) 4.5 × 3.1 cm. Two fragments containing a few letters from xiii. 308–317 and 342–347, with accents. 316 omitted. 344 *γηθησ]ειε λ*. [with ν *ιδ*] above λ. Late second or third century, written in a neat uncial hand of the oval type.
- 770.** 4.7 × 7.9 cm. A few letters from the ends of xiii. 372–377 and the beginnings of 405–413, with stops, breathings and accents. 372 *πη]ξεν*. 374 In the margin *επαιν[εσομαι]* and below it *αινιζομ[αι]*, referring to the variants *αινίζομαι* and *αινίξομαι*; cf. Schol. A *αινίζομ'· φέρεται καὶ διὰ τοῦ ξ̄ αινίξομαι ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπαινέσομαι*. *Ζηνόδοτος αινίσσομαι*. 410 In the margin between this and l. 411 is a critical sign shaped like ϛ. Second century, written in round upright uncials.
- 771.** 14 × 7.8 cm. On the recto beginnings of xv. 736–746, with occasional breathings and accents. 740 *καικλιμ[ενοι]*. 742 *αι* and first ω of *μαιμωων* above ε and ο. 744 ι of *κηλειω* added later (by a second hand?). At the end a coronis and the title in large letters *Ιλιαδ[ος ο]*. Late second or early third century, written in handsome good-sized uncials of the oval type. On the verso 12 nearly complete lines of a money-account in third century cursive.
- 772.** 10.2 × 5.9 cm. Ends of xvii. 353–373, with stops, breathings and accents. 361 *αγ]χηστιν[οι]*. 363 *αν αίμωτι*. 369 Final ι of *Μενοιτιαδη* added above the line. 371 α of *αιθερι* corr. from ε. Second or third century, written in a rather small uncial hand.

(b) *Odyssey*.

- 773.** Height of roll 24.4 cm. Seven fragments from four columns of a MS. of ii, containing a few letters from 304-312, 339-357 (top of a column), ends of 362-374 (top of a column), and parts of 386-410 (a whole column), with stops (high and middle point) and occasional accents. 341 above  $\epsilon\chi\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  is  $\delta\iota[\dots]\omicron$ . 368  $\delta\alpha\sigma\omega\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ . 369  $\nu$  of  $\sigma\upsilon\delta\epsilon$  corr. 372 (end of the line)  $\pi\eta$  or  $\iota\eta$ . 401  $[\epsilon\iota]\delta\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\eta[\nu]$ . 407 omitted. 408  $\epsilon$  of  $\theta\epsilon\iota\nu\iota$  added above the line by a second hand.  $\text{A}\chi\alpha\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ . Second century, written in very large heavy uncials (cf. 661), the letters measuring 5 mm. in height.
- 774.** 4.5 x 7.5 cm. Parts of iii. 226-231. 227  $\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon\varsigma$ , the  $\epsilon$  being added by a second hand above  $\alpha$  crossed through. 228  $\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\epsilon\iota$ , the  $s$  being corrected from  $\iota$  (?). Third century, written in good-sized sloping oval uncials.
- 775.** 8.4 x 4.1 cm. Parts of iv. 388-400 from the bottom of a column, with occasional breathings and accents. 396  $\alpha$  of  $\alpha\lambda\epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\iota$  above  $\eta$  crossed through. 399 omitted. Third century, written in sloping oval uncials.
- 776.** 6.2 x 2.4 cm. A few letters from iv. 520-529 from the bottom of a column, with occasional accents. First or early second century, written in round uncials.
- 777.** 12.2 x 8.8 cm. Part of the lower portion of a leaf of a book, containing on the recto the beginnings of v. 7-17 and on the verso the ends of 34-44, with stops, breathings and accents. Fourth century, written in good-sized sloping oval uncials, in brown ink.
- 778.** 20.6 x 17.2 cm. On the recto a nearly complete column containing x. 26-50, with stops (high, middle and low point). 27 Second  $\iota$  of  $\alpha\phi\rho\alpha\delta\iota\eta\iota\sigma\iota\nu$  added above the line; similarly final  $\iota$  of  $\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\eta\iota$  in 29,  $\tau\omega\iota$  and  $\alpha\lambda\lambda\omega\iota$  in 32. 31  $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha\beta\epsilon$ . 34  $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$ . 38  $\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$ . 42  $\nu\epsilon\iota\sigma\omicron\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$ . 46  $\beta\omicron\nu\lambda\eta\tau\epsilon$ . Late second or third century, written in handsome round upright uncials. On the verso parts of the last 7 lines of a letter in a cursive hand of the late third century.
- 779.** 6.2 x 9.6 cm. x. 124-130 from the top of a column, the lines being nearly complete, with breathings and accents. Late second or third century, written in a clear cursive hand.
- 780.** 17.7 x 8.5 cm. A few letters from the ends of xi. 471-493, and the earlier portions of 523-545, from the bottoms of columns, with stops and occasional accents. 533  $\delta\eta\tau\rho\omega\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$  with  $\omega\nu$  (in a second hand) above  $\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$ . 539  $\beta\iota\beta\omega\sigma\alpha$ . 544  $\phi$  of  $\nu\omicron\sigma\phi\iota\nu$  above  $\tau$  crossed out.  $\alpha\phi\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\eta\kappa\epsilon\iota$ . 545  $\mu\iota\nu$  with  $\epsilon$  above  $\iota$  added by a second hand. Second century (?), written in an uncial hand of the oval type and archaic appearance,  $\Xi$  being formed  $\Xi$ .

- 781.** 6 × 3.8 cm. Fragment of a leaf from a book, containing on the recto parts of xvi. 243-256, and on the verso the ends of 288-301, with stops, breathings and accents (in lighter ink). 293 δε δαιτα. 295 δ of δουρε corr. Third century, written in rather small sloping oval uncials.
- 782.** 7.3 × 5.3 cm. Fragment of the bottom of a leaf of a book containing on the verso parts of xvii. 137-148, and on the recto ends of 182-193, with stops and accents (in lighter ink). 187 γένεσθαι. Third century, written in rather small sloping oval uncials.
- 783.** 11.7 × 4.4 cm. Ends of xvii. 410-428, with stops. 417 αλλωι. Late first century B.C., written in good-sized irregular uncials.



## VI. DESCRIPTIONS OF MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS

- 784.** Fourteen fragments of a document containing on both sides several columns, the recto consisting for the most part of lists of persons, the verso of a private account (continued on the recto), which mentions *καὶ προσ/* (i. e. *προσγίνονται*) *τιμῇ(s)* (*πυροῦ*) (*ἡμίσεως*) *τοῦ πεπραμένου Διδύμω' Ἀρ* (i. e. 1100 copper drachmae), *[λ]ύτρα ἱερῶν ἐγ Μούχεω(s) φ, ἰχθυδίου κ, ζύτους ι, ῥῶν β κε, ἐλαίου κο(τύλης) α ρπ, οἴνου κ(εραμίων) β (τάλαντον) α*, and payments for *Ἑλληνικῶν*. A conversion of silver into copper drachmae occurs, *τιμῇ(s) ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμῶν) η ὑπ(ὲρ) τοῦ πατρὸς(s) 'Βψ* (a ratio of  $337\frac{1}{2} : 1$ , which is unusually low; cf. P. Tebt. I. p. 580<sup>1</sup>). First century B. C.
- 785.** 14.7 × 9 cm. An undertaking by a surety to produce a certain individual who had been committed to his charge; cf. 259. After the first 5 lines, which seem to have contained the address but are much broken, the papyrus concludes *ὁμολο(γῶ) παρε[ι]ληφέναι Ξένωνα 'Ηρακλέους παρὰ σοῦ ὄν καὶ παρέξομαι ἐν τῷ ἐμφανεῖ ἐκτὸς ἱεροῦ βωμοῦ τεμένους πάσης σκέπης*. About A. D. I. 12 lines in all.
- 786.** 14.3 × 8.4 cm. Conclusion of a census-return on oath, written by Aristion and Didymus on Tubi 30 of the third year of Hadrian (A. D. 119), the portion preserved corresponding to 480. 7 sqq. *προγεγραμμένων* (cf. 480. 15) is apparently written *ἀγεγ*. Below the signatures in two different hands are official dockets *κατεχ(ωρίσθη) λαογρ(άφοις) Νό(του) Δρό(μου) χρο(νος) ὁ αὐ(τός)*, and *κατεχω(ρίσθη) λαογρ(άφοις) 'Ιπ(πέων) Παρε(μβολῆς) χρο(νος) ὁ αὐ(τός)*. 20 lines, which are complete except the first.
- 787.** 19.9 × 13.3 cm. Concluding part of a letter of recommendation (cf. 746). The first 5 lines are *ὥς ἔστιν ἡμέτερος. ἐρωτῶ σε οὖν ἔχειν αὐτὸν συνεσταμένον καὶ ἐν οἷς ἐὰν σοι προσέρχεται [[ποι]] ἐκ δικαίου εἰς τὴν ἐ[μ]ὴν καταλογὴν ποιήσεις αὐτῷ. [σ]ὺ δὲ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐὰν αἰρῇ γράφε*. Dated in the second year of Tiberius, Pharmouthi 11 (A. D. 16). 9 lines.

<sup>1</sup> The problems of Ptolemaic copper coinage have recently been discussed by Hultsch in *Abhand. d. Königl. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, 1903. We regret to be compelled to observe that owing to the adoption of Revillout's long exploded theories based on demotic, and the failure to appreciate the evidence of the Tebtunis papyri with the arguments brought against the 120 : 1 ratio in our App. ii to that volume, the article seems to us a step backwards rather than forwards.

- 788.** 11.7 × 10 cm. On both recto and verso parts of two columns of a private account in copper drachmae. A conversion of silver into copper (δραχμαί) δ'ΑΤμ (a ratio of 485 : 1) occurs; among the other items are ἀρταβῶν παρη( ) 'Α, αἰτητῆι ρ, τέλος οἴνου 'Βυ, μεμβράδος ('anchovy') [. Early first century B. C. In Col. i of the recto the first 8 lines are complete, the rest being imperfect throughout.
- 789.** 9.7 × 13 cm. Part of a letter. Lines 2-9 ἔδωκά σοι ἐν 'Οξυρ[ύ(γ)χων]] Διονυσίου Φανίου ἐπιστολείδιον κεχαραγμέ(νον) εἰς ἰδ μηνὸ(ς) Καισαρείου τοῦ διελθόντος ι (ἔτους) περὶ τοῦ σε δοῦναί μοι ἴσας ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Διονύ(σιος) ἔσχευ παρ' ἐμοῦ (πυροῦ) (ἀρταβῶν) δδ' χ(οινίκων) 5. The tenth year probably refers to Tiberius or Claudius. 11 lines.
- 790.** 8.7 × 12.8 cm. Beginnings of 8 lines of an official letter from Dionysius to Ptolemaeus enclosing a copy of another letter. ἐπιστάται τῶν ἱπάρχων are mentioned. Late second century B. C. Written across the fibres. On the verso beginnings of 6 more lines in a different hand.
- 791.** 14.7 × 6 cm. Letter from Didymus to his brother Apollonius, beginning ἐπιμένησμαι Ἀμμωνίῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ περὶ ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμῶν) τεσσαράκοντα ὀκτὼ εἰς συναγορασμ(όν) ἐρίων . . . Addressed on the verso Ἀπολλωνίῳ. About A. D. 1. Incomplete, the end being lost. 12 lines.
- 792.** 8.4 × 27.2 cm. On the recto an incomplete account of payments of wheat to various persons, containing 19 lines. On the verso another practically complete account of receipts and payments, mentioning λιτο[υ]ργο(ίς) ρμ, Φωσφόρω καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ ∟ κ, ναύ(λου) πορε(ίω)ν δ ∟ η, Φωσφόρω καὶ αὐ . . υς( ) εἰς ἐφόδ(ια) ) ∟ μ. ∟ perhaps means δραχμαί. 13 lines. The writing on the recto is across the fibres, that on the verso along them. First century B. C.
- 793.** 24 × 11.5 cm. Acknowledgement of payments of wheat εἰς τὸ δημόσιον by various persons ἀπὸ διαστολ(ή)ς of other persons. Dated in the seventh year of Domitian, Caesarius 16 (A. D. 88). Nearly complete. 18 lines.
- 794.** 21.2 × 15.6 cm. Conclusion of a contract for the sale of  $1\frac{1}{48}$  arourae of catoecic land, with the signatures, which are nearly complete, and following the same formula as 504. The seller was Asclepiades, the buyer a woman called Σιντότις (?) or Σιντότον, and the price 500 drachmae of silver. The land was περὶ Θ. θῶθιν ἐκ τοῦ Εὐφρωνος ἀλα κλήρου (sic). Written in the fifth year of Domitian (A. D. 85-6). 36 lines.
- 795.** Fr. (a) 4.5 × 13.3 cm. Two fragments of a marriage-contract dated in the reign of Domitian (A. D. 81-96). The husband is called Heraclides, the wife (?) Sarapous. Line 4 γ]αμετῆν φερνὴν προσφερομένην δα[κτύλιον] χρυσοῦν τεταρτῶ[ν] (cf. 496. 6, note), and lower down ]τευμένην κατὰ τοὺς τῆς χώρα[s νόμους occurs. Written across the fibres. Parts of 12 lines in all.

- 796.** 3 × 8.3 cm. Parts of 7 lines from the beginning of a marriage-contract written in the reign of Trajan (A.D. 98–117), mentioning ἐν παραφέρνοις κλαλίων ἀργυρῶν ζεύγος (?). For κλαλίον = κλανίον ('bracelet') cf. 114. 11. Written across the fibres.
- 797.** 5.5 × 10 cm. On the recto an entry concerning the measurement of the land of Thotsutaios, διάφορον σχοι(νισμοῦ) Θοτσυταῖος τοῦ Ὠρου τῶν ἐν τῇι συν( ) τῶν πα( ) ἀπὸ τοῦ ιε τοῦ καὶ ιβ (ἔτους) περὶ κώ(μην) . . . For διάφορον σχοι(νισμοῦ) cf. P. Tebt. I. p. 229. The reign is that of Cleopatra III and Ptolemy Alexander (B.C. 103–2). 4 lines. On the verso 2 lines from the beginning of a document mentioning Νεμέρα κω(μο)γρ(αμματεύς).
- 798.** 7.8 × 9.2 cm. Conclusion of a letter, ending ἀπὸ τῆς τιμῆς τοῦ ἀγοραστοῦ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀποδοῦναι, ὥς δ' ἂν παραγένωνται οἱ σιτολόγοι ἐπὶ τὴν παράληψιν τῶν σιτικῶν ἀπομετρήσομεν ἅμα καὶ ταῦτα. ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) κγ Φαῶφι. The twenty-third year probably refers to Epiphanes (B.C. 183). 8 lines.
- 799.** 30.5 × 25 cm. One complete and one incomplete column of an account of sums owed and interest upon them, beginning τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρίᾳ ἀσχηκε (? l. ἀ ἔσχηκε) χειροῦ Θέωνο(ς) ἐν πλοίῳ. Then follows a list of names and amounts, e.g. Ταυρείνου καὶ Σευείθου (δραχμαὶ) τ τόκ(ου) ἕως Μεσορῇ (δραχμαὶ) οζ. The second column is also concerned with loans; εἰς δανισμόν occurs. About A.D. 1. 34 lines.
- 800.** 18.7 × 12.5 cm. Beginnings of 19 lines of an official document enclosing a letter of Valerius Athenodorus. Lines 4–10 (which begin a new section, as is indicated by the size of the initial letter) Καὶ διὰ λόγο(ν) (δωδεκα)μήνου [, ἐδηλώθη διαγεγράφθαι [, νομοῦ τούτου τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον [, ποταμοῦ τῷ 15 (ἔτει) Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τ[οῦ κυρίου, Φήλικος τοῦ ἡγεμονεύσαντος ἐργατεῖα ἐκ τῷ ν, αἰρεθέντων ἐξ εὐσχημόνων ὑπὸ Ἡρακ[λ . . ., προχρείας ἐκ τοῦ κυριακοῦ λόγου εἰς τὴν [. Written about A.D. 153.
- 801.** 19.2 × 12.3 cm. Fragment of a notification addressed to Euangelius also called Sarapion, strategus, by Diogenes, enclosing an authorization to the strategus from the archidicastes in answer to a petition by Diogenes. Cf. 485 and 719. In the upper margin is a short note from the strategus (cf. B. G. U. 578. 1) dated in the second year of Gaius Pescennius Niger (A.D. 193). The letter of the archidicastes to the strategus is dated Thoth 18 (probably of the same year). 35 lines, of which the ends are lost.
- 802.** 7 × 7 cm. Parts of 11 lines from the beginning of a contract, one of the parties being called Σιμάριστος. Dated in the 1[.]th year of Ptolemy (Alexander the god) Philometor and Berenice, i.e. B.C. 101–95. On the verso a docket.
- 803.** 15 × 5 cm. Fragment of an official letter or petition, containing 3 com-



plete and 3 incomplete lines, with traces of a preceding column. Lines 2-5  
καὶ ἀπὸ ἐπιστατείας φ[υ]λακιδῶν ἀντὶ τῶν κατ' ἔτος εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ὁμολογουμένων  
διαγράφεσθαι (δραχμῶν) Ἦ ἀπηγῆσθαι βιαιό[τ]ερον τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ νομοῦ φύλακας  
ὑπὸ τῆ τοῦ [. . . . . καὶ] Πτολεμαίου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ . . . Late first century  
B. C. On the verso parts of two columns of an account.

- 804.** Width 9.9 cm. Horoscope dated in the twenty-seventh year of Augustus, Phaophi 5 περὶ ὥρα(ν) γ τῆς ἡμέρα(s) (Oct. 2 (?) A. D. 4). The sun was in Libra, the moon in Pisces, Saturn in Taurus, Jupiter in Cancer, Mars in Virgo. Taurus was setting, and Aquarius at the nadir. After the astronomical details the papyrus concludes ἔχει κινδύνους· φυλάσσου ἕως ἡμερῶ(ν) μ χάριν τοῦ Ἀρεως. Incomplete, being broken in the middle. 15 lines in all.
- 805.** 6.6 × 7.6 cm. Conclusion of a letter written on Epeiph 20 of the fifth year of Augustus (B. C. 25). Lines 2 sqq. ζητῶ γὰρ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐρχομένοις πλ[ο]ίοις καλαὶ φάσεις ἐλεύσονται παρ' [ἐ]μοῦ, ἀξιῶ δὲ ἀντιφωνεῖν [μ]οι πυκνότερον. ἀσπάζου πάντας τοὺς παρ' ἡμῶν καὶ σεαυτῆς ἐπιμελοῦ ἵν' ὑγιαίνης εὐτυ(χοῦσα). ἔρρω(σο). 9 lines.
- 806.** 15.9 × 35.4 cm. Account, in two columns, of expenditure of copper money for various purposes in the tenth year (of Augustus, i. e. B. C. 21-0). Among the items are ἱερεῦσι Θεόριος Ἄ, Κεφαλᾶ χρυσοχόφ Ἦσ, Σαραπίωνι εἰς πραγματήαν Ἀφ, διὰ τῆς Ἀσκληπιάδου τραπέζης λάξοις (τάλαντον) α. Complete. 21 lines.
- 807.** 16.8 × 21.1 cm. Fragment of an official list of sheep and goats belonging to different persons at a village. Col. i contains the ends of 5 lines. Col. ii has ὦν αὐτοῦ ἴδια π, αἰγ(ες) δ, καὶ Ἀρσινόης φορικὰ μξ, Ἀχορίνιος ἴδια μ αἰγες γ. / ρξε αἰγες ζ. γίνεται τῆς κώμης πρό(βατα) Ἄσμα αἰγες τλς, ὦν Ἀρσινόης φορικ(ὰ) σμ. The sheep which were Ἀρσινόης φορικὰ as contrasted with those that were private property seem to have been subject to a special impost (φόρος), payable nominally to Arsinoë (i. e. Arsinoë Philadelphus probably), but really of course to the State; cf. the ἀπόμοιρα in the Revenue Papyrus. About A. D. 1. On the verso part of an account.
- 808.** Height 36 cm. A list of abstracts (διαστρώματα) of contracts for loan; cf. 274 and P. Oxy. II. p. 176. One column, numbered at the top ρμε, is practically complete, and there are parts of another in three separate fragments. The first entry is [ἐ]ν Παλώσει· ὁμολ(ογεῖ) Ἀρπαλος Ἐρμων[ος τοῦ . . .] . . . . . οὐς ἀπ' Ὁξυ(ρύγχων) πόλεως Πανσίρει Πετσίριος ἀπὸ τῆ(s) αὐ(τῆς) κώμης Παλώσεως Θμο(ισεφῶ) τοπ(αρχίας) ἀπέχ(ειν) παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμὰς) σι κεφαλ(αίου) ἂς ἐδά(νεισεν) αὐτῶι διὰ τοῦ ἐν τῇ αὐ(τῇ) κώμῃ γραφίου τῷ ἐνεσ(τῶτι) (ἔτει) μηνὶ Νερωνείωι Σεβαστῶι. (Second hand) ἡθέ(τισται) μηνὶ Νερωνείωι Σεβαστῶι ιδ, ἀπόδ(οσις) λ [μ]η(νὸς) Νερωνείου τοῦ ια (ἔτους), εὐχ( ) λελυ(μένη?).

A marginal note (probably by the second hand) has ] . ποχ( ) ἐν ἀπο(γραφή) ι (ἔτους). The other entries refer to loans ἐν Σεφώι, ἐν Κεσμούχ(ει) or ἐν Τήει, and follow the same formula with similar later additions. The month after ἡθέ(τισται), (which is once written ἡθέτισ(ται)), is uniformly that in which the contract was drawn up. θεὸς Κλαύδιος is mentioned, and the papyrus was probably written in the reign of Nero (A.D. 54-68). 43 lines in Col. i, besides the marginal notes.

- 809.** 16.7 × 6.4 cm. Ends of 22 lines from the beginning of a contract drawn up before the agoranomi for the sale(?) of a female slave called Τεχωσοῦς. Dated in the reign of Trajan (A.D. 98-117).
- 810.** 14.6 × 10 cm. Proposal (ἐπιδέχομαι μισθώσασθαι) addressed to Claudia Ptolema by Dioscorus for the lease of 3 arourae of βασιλική γῆ near Sinaru in the κλήρος of Xenon for the nineteenth year of Hadrian (A.D. 134-5). The land, being ἐκ μέρους ἐν ἀβρόχου (l. -χφ), was to be irrigated by the lessee at his own expense and cultivated χόρτω εἰς κοπήν καὶ θερινὴν ἐπινομήν at the total rent of 120 drachmae, the δημόσια being paid by the lessor. Cf. 730, the formula of which is almost identical. Nearly complete, but broken at the bottom. Title on the verso. 27 lines.
- 811.** 7.7 × 9.4 cm. 8 lines from the beginning of a letter from Πέλλις to Ant[as?] beginning καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἔγρ[αψά σοι] εὐχαριστῶν Ἑρμίππου (l. -πφ) ὅτι πάντα μοι ποεῖ εἰς τὴν σὴν καταλογὴν (cf. 787), καὶ τὰ νῦν εἴ σοι φαί[νε]ται γράψον αὐτῷ... Address on the verso. About A.D. 1.
- 812.** 10.2 × 8.3 cm. Fragment of a letter containing in a postscript (l. 5) πεπí-ασται Λοκρίων [, (l. 6) ρικαρις ὑπὸ Λουκίου (ὑπ. Λ. above the line) ἤκουσα γὰρ ὄ[τ]ι [, (l. 7) τὴν λωρίκαν αὐτοῦ [. Dated in the twenty-fifth year of Augustus, Athur (B.C. 5). 8 lines.
- 813.** 15 × 11.7 cm. Conclusion of a letter in which the writer requests that a cargo of barley may be sent to him. About A.D. 1. 7 lines.
- 814.** 21.5 × 11.6 cm. Fragment of an account in two columns. Among the entries are πακτωνίταις... ἀπὸ Θελβώι..., Κῦνος Πτολεμαίου τῶν ἀπὸ Εὐεργέ-τιδος... Written in the fourth year (probably of Tiberius, i.e. A.D. 17-8). 15 incomplete lines in Col. ii.
- 815.** 27.9 × 11.3 cm. Fragment of an account containing names and sums of money arranged under different dates, the beginnings of lines being lost. The proper name Ὀνθονόβει (dative) occurs. About A.D. 1. 19 lines.
- 816.** Fr. (a) 14.3 × 13.1 cm. Three fragments of an account containing names and sums of money. ]s Ἰσιδώρου καὶ Ἰησοῦς occurs. 10 incomplete lines in Fr. (a). On the verso part of another account mentioning the twenty-fifth year (of Augustus, i.e. B.C. 6-5).

- 817.** 9.7 × 20 cm. 5 nearly complete lines from the top of a column containing a list of names and sums of money, a larger and a smaller, the second being probably interest, e.g. ].δ( ) δια Ἀντέρωτος Λοκρητίου Παχῶν β (δραχμαὶ) ρν (δραχμαὶ) η. The twenty-first year (of Augustus, i.e. B.C. 10-9) is mentioned. On the verso part of another account.
- 818.** 6.8 × 9 cm. Ends of the first 7 lines of a contract dated in the thirty-fourth year of Augustus (A.D. 4-5), written in a semi-uncial hand.
- 819.** 8.6 × 10.6 cm. Conclusion of a letter concerning the sale of wine or oil, ending τὰ δὲ προκείμενα χ(όας) δ πεπρᾶσ{σ}θαι δι' ἐμοῦ ἀνὰ δραχ(μὰς) πέντε, τὰ κόρι(α?) ἐκ δραχ(μῶν) ἕξ (τριωβόλου). About A.D. 1. 6 lines.
- 820.** 10.2 × 17.9 cm. End of a letter containing the date (twenty-seventh year of Augustus, Tubi 1[.], i.e. B.C. 3) and a postscript of 7 lines, giving various directions.
- 821.** 11.5 × 6.2 cm. Ends of the first 9 lines of a letter to a daughter. About A.D. 1.
- 822.** 5.4 × 13 cm. Beginning of a letter from Lysimachus to his brother. εὖ πράσσειν takes the place of χαίρειν. About A.D. 1. 4 lines.
- 823.** 24 × 10.2 cm. Fragment of the conclusion of a lease of land near Μερμέρθ[α? Cf. 277. Dated in the twenty-fifth year of Augustus, Phaophi (B.C. 6). Written on the verso, the recto being blank. 13 incomplete lines.
- 824.** 4.8 × 2.5 cm. Fragment containing parts of the first 10 lines of a contract dated in the sole reign of Ptolemy (Alexander the god) Philometor (B.C. 101-88).
- 825.** 7.8 × 15.9 cm. Beginning of an account of which the heading is Δημητρίῳ καὶ Ἀμμωνίῳ καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτοῖς μισθωταῖς ξενικῆς πρακτορείας παρὰ Σαραπίωνο[s] πραγματευτοῦ Μέμφεως Μ[ε]μφ[ε]ίτου. λόγος λήμματος καὶ ἀναλώμ[α]τος μηνῶν τριῶν ἀπ[ὸ] Φαρμούθι ἕως Παῦνι τοῦ ε [(ἔτους) . . . The beginnings of lines of a second column are preserved, containing a list of entries each commencing with π(αρά). On the importance of this papyrus for the ξενικὴ πρακτορεία see 712. introd. Second century. On the verso in a different hand (?) parts of the first 6 lines of a document mentioning the ἐγκτήσεων βιβλιοφυλάκιον, perhaps the draft of a declaration.
- 826.** 9.5 × 11.9 cm. Fragment of the conclusion of a notice sent to some official, apparently an announcement of a death. Lines 1 sqq. Δίδυμ[ος] Χαρίτ.( ) γέρδιος [μετήλλαξε? τὸν] βίον τῷ ἐνεστῶτι μηνὶ Τύβι τοῦ δευτέρου(ν) <καὶ> τριακο[σ]τοῦ ἔτους Καίσαρος. διὸ ἀξιῶ ἐὰν φαίνεται καταχωρισθῆναι τοῦτο [. . . . . ἐν] τοῖς παρὰ σοὶ βιβλίοις . . . A.D. 3. 9 lines. On the verso the beginning of an account.
- 827.** 13.5 × 6.8 cm. Part of a list of names. About A.D. 1. 18 lines.



- 828.** 5.8 × 10 cm. Parts of 6 lines of a petition concerning the measurements of a piece of land. Early first century B.C. On the verso parts of 6 much effaced lines of another document.
- 829.** 12.3 × 9.3 cm. Part of a letter from Σωγένης to his sister. About A.D. 1. 13 lines.
- 830.** 15.3 × 5.6 cm. End of 17 lines of an official letter, enclosing other documents. Phaophi 28 of the twenty-first year (of Philometor probably, i.e. B.C. 155) is mentioned. Written across the fibres. On the verso part of a line.
- 831.** Fr. (a) 6.1 × 9.2 cm. Two fragments of a contract beginning *ἔτους ζ* [. . . ἐν] Ὀξύρχων πόλει τῆς Θηβαίδος. ὁμολογεῖ Λεπτίνης . . . μώνακτος Μακεδῶν τῶν Σωγγινάριος πεζῶν Ἡρακλείδῃ . . . . The sovereign is Ptolemy Soter II, and the date therefore B.C. 111–0. 8 lines.
- 832.** 14 × 21.3 cm. Parts of two columns of a taxing-list of some kind. Col. ii begins *γίνεται τὸ π(ᾶν?) ἐπικεφαλαίου, Τεῶτος ἀρσενικὰ ρμ, θηλυκὰ ριζ, / [σνζ.] Βησατο(s) . .* The fifteenth year of Augustus (B.C. 16–5) is mentioned in Col. i. In the blank space between the columns a second hand has written *Ζεῦ μάκαρ ἀθανάτων*, and a third the beginning of an acknowledgement of a payment at the Serapeum of Oxyrhynchus. On the verso traces of two other documents.
- 833.** 11.8 × 16 cm. Beginning of an official report concerning *ἡμιολίαι σπερμάτων*. Lines 1–7 *συνάγονται ἀπὸ ἡμιολίας σπερμ[άτων] Ὀξύρχ(ίτου) τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν κατὰ τόπον σιτολ[όγων] ὁμολο(γῆμένων) κεχορη(γῆσθαι) εἰς κληρουχ( ) αἱ γ . . . [ . . . ] ἀνει( ) (πυροῦ) σοεδ', δι(αφόρου) μηλδ', λ[ο(ιπαὶ)] σκ<ς>λ. ἄλλης ἡμιολίας τῶν σημαινομένων ὑ[πὸ] τῶν τοῦ νομοῦ τοπογραμματατέων πλείω κεχορη(γῆσθαι) . . .* Cf. P. Tebt. I. pp. 226–7. About A.D. 1. 8 lines.
- 834.** 4.5 × 9.8 cm. Conclusion of a letter dated in the twenty-sixth year of Augustus, Mesore (B.C. 4), mentioning a voyage *εἰς Ὀμβους*. 6 lines.
- 835.** 19.8 × 12.8 cm. An offer to purchase confiscated land at Pela, addressed to Gaius Sep[p]ius Rufus; cf. 721, which has the same formula. The purchase price, which was to be paid *ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ Σ[α]ρ[απείῳ] δ[η]μοσίαν [τραπέζαν]*, was not less than 100 drachmae. The earlier portion is much mutilated. For the conclusion see 721. 14–5, note. About A.D. 13. 14 lines.
- 836.** 13.5 × 12.8 cm. Loan of 32 artabae *πυροῦ στερεοῦ* from Theoxenus to two Πέρσαι [τῆς ἐπιγον]ῆς and a third person. Lines 6 sqq. *ἀποδότῳσαν δὲ οἱ δεδανεισμένοι Θεοξένῳ τὰς τριάκοντα δύο ἀρτάβας τῶν πυρῶν ἐν μηνὶ Παῦνι τοῦ ἑκκαδεκάτου ἔτους ἐν Ὀξύρχων πόλει πυρὸν στερεὸν νέον καθαρὸν ἄδολον μέτρῳ τετραχοινίκῳ ἀγ<ο>ρανομικῷ καταστήσαντες τοῖς ἰδίῳις ἀ[ν]ηλώμασι κ.τ.λ.* For

μέτρον ἀγορανομικόν cf. 740. 17, note, and for the formula cf. the late Ptolemaic loans from Gebelên, e.g. P. Grenf. I. 23. First century B.C.; the sixteenth year refers to Neos Dionysus (B.C. 66-5) or Augustus (B.C. 15-4). Nearly complete, but broken at the beginning. 30 lines. The papyrus has been gummed on to two similar documents, of which parts of a few lines are preserved.

**837.** 18.6 × 15.5 cm. Will of Apollos daughter of Paësis, leaving her property at Kerkemounis jointly to Didymus son of Dio[genes], probably a son by her first marriage, and to the offspring of her present marriage with Apollos son of Ophelas, with provisions for the *φερνή* and *παράφερνα* of a daughter and for the guardianship of the children. Dated in the second year of Hadrian (A.D. 117-8). Cf. 489-95. Written across the fibres. 30 lines, of which only the beginnings are preserved.

**838.** 30.5 × 9.5 cm. Lease of land at the Ἡρακλείδου ἐποίκιον from Diogenes to two persons, with the signature of the lessor. The formula follows that of e.g. 499. The conclusion is *τῆς ἐπινομῆς οὔσης τοῦ Διογένους. κυρία ἡ μίσθωσις*. Dated in the twenty-first year of Hadrian, Thoth (A.D. 136). Incomplete. 52 lines.

**839.** 27.5 × 17.1 cm. Letter from Eutychides to his mother, the earlier part describing an accident to a boat. Lines 6 sqq. *ὡς ἐνανάγησεν κατὰ Πτολεμαίδα καὶ ἦλθέ μοι γυμνὸς κεκινδυνευκῶς. εὐθέως ἠγόρασα αὐτῷ στολήν. Ἀ μαχαιροφόρος* is mentioned, apparently as the bearer of the letter. Early first century A.D. Incomplete. 26 lines.

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## APPENDIX I

### Addenda and Corrigenda to *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* Part II and *Fayûm Towns and their Papyri*.

For the literature connected with these volumes see the successive bibliographies of papyri by Wilcken in the *Archiv*, and by de Ricci in the *Revue des études grecques*. After an examination of the articles in question and a comparison with the papyri, we give here a list of those suggestions which both affect our transcriptions of the texts and are satisfactory. Proposed alterations which are unsuitable, or are based upon alternatives mentioned in our notes, or in the case of literary texts are confined to the supplements of lacunae, are generally ignored. Where the source of the correction is not indicated, it is our own.

- Part. II. **211.** 34. δ[ραμω]ν for α[. . . .]ν (Weil) is possible.
- 214.** Recto 7. The vestige of a letter before α[ is too slight to afford any clue. The same remark applies to the two letters after με in l. 15.
- 18.** Possibly νο]υσον εχειν (Ludwich).
- Verso **11.** Possibly ο[ς π]ελα[γ]ο[ς] (Platt), but it is not certain that a letter is lost after ελα, and the following vestiges suit ε better than ο. Perhaps π]ελαγε[ιζων (Bolling).
- 12.** τ[. . .]ε[. . .] . ος: the doubtful τ may be π, but neither π[επι]σ[με]νος (Platt) nor π[επο]ι[θ]ως (Bolling) seem to suit.
- 13.** μ . . λον: the first letter is more like ν than μ.
- 14.** l. ασ[τυ]φελικτος (Ludwich) at the end of the line.
- 215.** i. 28. φσιν should very likely be read in place of θσιν, but there is not room for [αγα]θο[ν νο]ωσι (Fraccaroli).
- 216.** i. 2. λην is a misprint for λης.
- 218.** The position in Col. ii conjecturally assigned by us to Fr. (c) may be considered certain. Line 26 is ραν σ[υμφ]ερει[ (or, as Crönert suggests, ε[πιφ]ερει), 27 υπερ τ[ης] ολης, 28 Αρχελ[ας] και Ζην[οδοτος (cf. our note *ad loc.*), 29 perhaps [εν τοις] περι ταφου (εν τοις Crönert). Fragment (b) probably joins Fr. (a) so that Fr. (a) i. 18 and Fr. (b) i form one line, i.e. ]ζωγα το-. Fr. (e) probably belongs to the bottom of Fr. (a) ii.
- 219.** **11.** λιθο[ις] κ[ι]σαι (i.e. κεισαι) (Platt) is possible.
- 17.** For ερμι[ο]ν τροφην Wilamowitz suggests ορνιθ[ο]τροφιν. θ in place of ο is possible, but the first letter is more like ε than ο. The η of τροφην is certain.
- 220.** A newly-found fragment, apparently from the top of a column, contains the beginnings of two lines τυχα[ν] and μα[ γ]. Cf. **221** *ad fin.*
- x. **16.** The penultimate letter before ανα[ is β or κ.
- xi. **20.** επ[ι] σ[τιχον] (Leo) is possible, but δ]ε π[ω]ς for the preceding letters is unsuitable.
- 221.** i. **1.** l. οτ[ε] for τε (Ludwich).
2. τα βαρυτον[α] (Ludwich) is not very suitable.
- 17.** το]ν before διαρρουν (Ludwich) is possible.
- 21.** Possibly απο[φενγει (Ludwich), but the doubtful letter is more like η or ι.
- ii. **3.** l. νε]κροις (Allen).
- 9.** l. τελευταν[ (Wilamowitz).
- iii. **2.** The traces of a letter before σελαν suit ω or ι better than ν. The papyrus has  
<sup>ε</sup>  
 διελ[ο]ν, i.e. the first hand wrote διελον which was corrected to δεελον (Diels).
- 3.** l. Τμαρες for γ Μαρ[ες] (Diels).
- 6.** l. πλειο for επλειο (Diels).
- 23-4.** l. κε κ' ] [ησο ειλα]ντο (Ludwich).
- 25.** [πτ]ωτην (Ludwich) is possible.
- 26-7.** l. γεγ[ονε]ναι (Ludwich).
- iv. **18.** The vestiges before αι are too faint to afford a clue.
- vi. **11.** φαιν]ηται ο γονος (Ludwich) is possible.
- vii. **5.** πα[ρ] Ανακ[ρεοντι] (Platt, Ludwich) cannot be read, but ουτως δε και Ανακ[ρεων] is possible.
- 15.** l. ταυτην for ταξε . . ν.
- ix. **1.** l. σαντας[ . . .]α[. . .]α[ for σαν τα[. . .] . κα[. . .] . πασ[.
- 9.** δε περ[ησ]ης for δ επορ[ευθ]ης (Ludwich) is just possible, but the letter following π is more like ο than ε.
- 15.** l. κρανα Μελ[ανο]ς for κραναν ελ[ικο]ς (Wilamowitz).
- xii. **10.** The vestiges on either side of ν are too slight to give a clue.
- 26.** πον might be read instead of των.



xiv. 25.  $\eta$  at the end of the line is extremely doubtful. There are more probably two letters.

26. στενονμεν[αι] γης (Ludwich) is possible.

xvi. 20-1.  $\epsilon\pi\iota$  νεων (Ludwich) is possible, but the  $\pi$  is extremely doubtful.

xvii. 12.  $\epsilon\pi\iota$  αφη (Ludwich) is possible.

Fr. (a) 5. Αθηρ[οκλης] (Crönert) is possible.

The beginnings of 12 lines are contained on a new fragment which the recto (cf. 220) seems to show is from near the bottom of a column, while l. 9 υπ ασιος (cf. *Il.* xxi. 318-21) indicates that it belongs to the column lost before Col. xvi.

• • • •	
[.] . . . [	τα ποταμ[
α . ρσ . [.] . [	τοναπ[
οντω[	υπ ασιος [
>	10 μας εκ τ[
τον δεσ[	αβαστα[
5 [π]εριογ[	[.] πεν[
[.] εξαξ[	
	• • • •

222. 17. ου(τως) Κρατης (Diels) can be read.

230. 32.  $\epsilon\eta\tau\omicron\mu\eta\eta$  is a misprint for  $\epsilon\zeta\eta\tau\omicron\mu\eta\eta$ .

232. 2. Insert  $\eta$  after  $\epsilon\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\sigma\theta\eta$ .

237. iv. 8. l.  $\epsilon\kappa\lambda\epsilon\gamma\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\eta$  (Gradenwitz).

17. l. τῷ Ἀσκληπιάδῃ [ἀπ]οδεδωκέναι (Grad.).

21. l. τοῦ γὰρ Ἀσκλη[πιάδ]ου τῷ κδ (ἔτει) [ἀ]παιτοῦ[ν]τος (Grad.).

26. l. ὁμολογήματα γεγενῆσθαι μ[ε] (or μ[οι]) (Grad.).

30. l. τῆς δὲ μητ[ρ]ῶας οὐσίας (Grad.).

33. ἐπισταμένο[ν] (Grad.) is possible.

v. 7. {ου} is a mistake for ος (Grad.).

7-8. l. καταλάβης ἄξιον ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἀνάπεμψον.

16. l. ἀν[απο]μνήης ἄξιον (Blass).

34. l. διά before χρηματισμῶν (Grad.).

38. l. δύνασ{θ}αι (Grad.).

42. l. μὴ [ἀ]μεληθῆναι.

vi. 18. l. οὔτινος (Blass).

21. l. ἀπ' ἐμοῦ for ἀπλῶς.

24. l. ἐπὶ τῇς μ[η]τρῶας οὐσίας βουλευθείση συνευδ. (Grad.).

25. l. ἀπαλλ[ατ] . . . (Grad.).

31. l. τὸ . . . πασθα[ι] εἰ οὐκ ἐξόν.

vii. 22. l. ὑπὸ λοιπῆς (i.e. λύπης) for ὑπολοίπης (Wilamowitz).

23. l. ἡνυκέναι for ἡκουκέναι (Wilam.).

26-7. ἐνέγκαντος is a mistake for ἐνέγκαντα (Wilam.).

40. l. μετ' ἄλλα for μετάλλα (Grad.).

viii. 24-5. l. ταῖς γαμουμέν[αις] διὰ τὸ καὶ (Grad., G-H.).

27. l. ὑπὸ for τοῦ. ιγ (referring to Trajan's reign) can be read, as Stein suggested, for κγ, but cf. 712. 7, where a Sulpicius Similis is mentioned certainly long after Trajan's time and perhaps in the reign of Commodus.

255. 16. 1. [ἐ]ξ [ὕ]γιους for [. . .]τῆς.  
 265. 39. 1. ὑδρευματων.  
 269. ii. 2. 1. [μ]ακρῶ for [Μ]άκρῳ (Wilam.).  
 270. 25. A line has dropped out of the text. 1. καὶ ὠνημένης ἀρούρας ἐξ ἡμίσει ταῖς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ κατοικικῆς καὶ ὠνημένης εἰς κατοικίαν κ.τ.λ. (Goodspeed).  
 273. 5. 1. κατὰ [ῥω]μαίων ἐ[θ]ῆ ὑπὸ κ.τ.λ.  
 8. The letters following ου might be read as του.  
 274. 22. 1. ἐπικαταβολ(ῆς) for ἐπικατακολ(ουθούν) (Wessely).  
 24-5. [ἐμ]βαθεύ[σ]εως (Wessely) is possible.  
 277. 9-13. 1. Διονυσίου ἡ τ[ῆ]ς γῆς [ὕπ]υλογεῖται αὐτοῦ[ . . .]κ . [ . ]ν . . . . . | οὐκίω ἡμισυ, [βεβα]ιούται δὲ Δι[ονύσιος τὴν μίσθωσιν] | πάσῃ [β]εβαι[ώ]σει, βεβαιουμένης δὲ α[ὐτῆς κομιζέτωσαν] | κοινῶς τὰ [γε]νήμα[τα] ἐ[πὶ] τὰς περὶ Π[άμιν ὑ]πα[ρχούσας] | ἄλλω (1. ἄλως) κ.τ.λ.  
 286. 19. 1. ἀποδῶσειν (i.e. ἀποδώσιν) for ἀποδώσειν (Wilam.).  
 287. 7. 1. πάντα for πάντ(α).  
 289. 3. The abbreviation beginning with σ which recurs in this papyrus is probably σύ(μ)πα(ν); cf. 574.  
 298. 42. γ̄ is a misprint for ν̄.

### Fayûm Towns and their Papyri.

2. iii. 16. δ̄ ελκων τ[ρ]ι[χ]α for σε . . μν[ . . ] . [ . ] . α (Weil) is possible.  
 23. ι[στ]αθ for [ . . ]αθ (Weil) is possible.  
 32. 1. αιγδον for αιγδην (Weil).  
 8. 10. [ε] is a misprint for [τε].  
 10. This fragment has been identified by Plasberg and Ferrini as coming from Ulpian, *Lib.* xlv. (*Dig.* xxix. 1. 1). 3. 1. *proferri* for *professi*. 6. 1. *er[ga]* for *es[se]*. 10. 1. *milites f[estamenta]*. 11. 1. *facia[nt]* for *enia[ ]*.  
 11. 22. 1. τ[ὸ] κ[αλ]ῶς ἔχον (Wilcken).  
 20. introd. p. 117. 1. 5. ὕ[πατος] (de Ricci) for ]τατος is possible. The edict is assigned by Dessau to Julian instead of Severus Alexander.  
 6. ει τι (Wilamowitz) can be read in place of επι.  
 8. ειη before και ταυτα is corrected by Wilamowitz to ἔτι.  
 15. ἐξ ἀπάντω[ν κρατεῖν | χρημάτων] (Wilamowitz) is better than our ἐξ ἀπάντω[ν | χρημα- τίζεσθαι].  
 23. introd. 1. Ταμαύεω(ς) for Ταμανσω( ) (Smyly); cf. the modern *Tamía*.  
 23 (a). 5-6. 1. Καβασείτου . . . Μετηλίτ[ου].  
 27. 32. 1. γνωρίζω for . . . τειρίζω (Wessely).  
 42 (a). 15. 1. γραμματ(ικοῦ) for γραμματ(έως); cf. P. Tebt. I. p. 28.  
 46. 3. 1. προδ̄ for . . γ( ).  
 48. 3. 1. πρόγο(νος) 'stepson' (Wilcken).  
 50. 5. 1. δρόμ(ου) for Δώμ(ατος) (Wilcken).  
 67-76. 1. τετελ(ώνηται) for τετέλ(εσται) (Wilcken).  
 73. 1. 1. ἀντεσυμβόλ(ησε) Παῆσις τελ(ωνησάμενος) (Wilcken). Similarly in 74. 1. 1. ἀντε- συμβόλ(ησε).  
 96. 1. A. D. 143 for A. D. 122.  
 110. 1. 1. Βελλιῆνος (Wilamowitz).  
 15. 1. ποτ[ισ]άτωσαν for λογ[σ]άτωσαν (Wilamowitz).





	[και το κατοικητηρ]ιον αυτου	> ερχομενον ε[ις αυτον και
10	[εν Σιων εις ου]ν και ο αυ	> ιδου φων[η εκ των ουρανων
	[τος θς ο υπο των] προφη[τ]ω	> λεγουσα συ ε[ι ο υς μου ο αγα
	[κηρυσσομενο]ς και υπο του	> πητος [ε]ν ω [ευδοκησα ου
	[ευαγγελιου.]ταγγελ[λ]ομε	30 γαρ τοτε ο χς [κατεβη εις
	[νος και ο υς εκ] παρθεν[ου]	τον Ιν ουδ α[λλος μεν ο χς
15	[. . . . .] ου και το [ας	αλλος δε Ι[ς] αλλα ο λογος του
	[τρον Ησαιας μεν ου]τως [ε	θυ ο σωτ[ηρ παντων και κυ
	[προφητευσεν ανατε]λ[ει	ριευω[ν ουρανου και γης

13. επαγγελλομενος would be expected (*annuntiatus* Lat.), but the letter before αγγ is more like τ or γ than π.

14-5. The Latin has *et huius filius qui ex fructu ventris David, id est ex David virgine et Emmanuel, cuius et stellam* &c. The papyrus version is much shorter.

16. For Ησαιας instead of Βαλααμ cf. Rendel Harris, *Athen.*, Nov. 14.

31. The Latin has *in Iesum, neque alius quidem Christus*. The supposed ν of Ιν is more like η, but it is impossible to read Ιην, and for the omission of η in the earliest contractions of Ἰησοῦς cf. e. g. I.

## APPENDIX III

*List of Oxyrhynchus and Fayûm Papyri distributed.*

We give here a list of the papyri published in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Parts I-III, and *Fayûm Towns and their Papyri*, which have been presented to different museums and libraries. Those papyri which do not appear have for various reasons not yet been distributed and are still at Queen's College, Oxford. Where ascertainable, we have added the present reference numbers in the catalogues of the several institutions to which the papyri now belong. The following abbreviations are employed:—

Am. = America. The papyri under this heading have only recently been sent to America, and details of the distribution are not yet forthcoming.

B. M. = British Museum. The numbers refer to the catalogue of papyri.

Belfast = Belfast Museum.

Bod. = Bodleian Library, Oxford. The references are to the hand-list of MSS.

Bolton = Chadwick Museum, Bolton, Lancs.

Bradfield = Library of Bradfield College, Berks.

Bristol = Bristol Museum.

- Brussels = Musées Royaux, Brussels, Belgium.  
 Cairo = Museum of Antiquities, Cairo. The numbers are those of the inventory ; cf. our Catalogue of Greek Papyri in the Cairo Museum.  
 Camb. = Cambridge University Library. The numbers refer to the 'Additions.'  
 Chicago = Haskell Museum, University of Chicago, U.S.A. The papyri are all numbered 'Accession 33.'  
 Clifton = Library of Clifton College, Bristol.  
 Columbia = Library of Columbia University, New York, U.S.A.  
 Dublin = Library of Trinity College, Dublin.  
 Dundee = Library of University College, Dundee.  
 Edinburgh = Library of Edinburgh University.  
 Eton = Library of Eton College, Windsor.  
 Glasgow = Library of Glasgow University.  
 Graz = Library of Graz University, Austria.  
 Haileybury = Library of Haileybury College, Hertford.  
 Hamilton = Hamilton College, U.S.A.  
 Harrow = Library of Harrow School.  
 Harvard = Semitic Museum of Harvard University, Mass., U.S.A.  
 Holloway = Library of Holloway College, Egham.  
 Johns Hopkins = Library of Johns Hopkins University, Maryland, U.S.A.  
 Liverpool = Liverpool Free Public Museum.  
 Melbourne = Library of Melbourne University, Victoria.  
 Owen's Coll. = Museum of Owen's College, Manchester.  
 Pennsylv. = Museum of Science and Art, University of Pennsylvania, U.S.A.  
 Princeton = Library of Princeton University, N.J., U.S.A.  
 Repton = Library of Repton School, Burton-on-Trent.  
 Rugby = Library of Rugby School.  
 Smiths. = Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.  
 St. Andrews = Library of St. Andrews University.  
 Toronto = Toronto University, Canada.  
 Vassar = Library of Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, U.S.A.  
 Vict. = Museum of Victoria University, Toronto, Canada.  
 Winchester = Library of Winchester College.  
 Yale = Library of Yale University, U.S.A.

*Oxyrhynchus Papyri.*

- |                                  |                     |                     |                      |
|----------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Bod. Gr. th. <i>e.</i> 7 (P). | 10. Yale.           | 20. B. M. 742.      | 31. Camb. 4031.      |
| 2. Pennsylv. 2746.               | 11. B. M. 740.      | 21. Chicago.        | 32. Bod. Lat. class. |
| 3. Chicago.                      | 12. Camb. 4029.     | 22. B. M. 743.      | <i>c.</i> 3 (P).     |
| 4. Camb. 4027.                   | 13. Columbia.       | 23. Camb. 4030.     | 35. Pennsylv. 2749.  |
| 5. Bod. Gr. th. <i>f.</i> 9 (P). | 14. Edinburgh.      | 24. Yale.           | 36. Bod. Gr. class.  |
| 6. Camb. 4028.                   | 15. Glasgow.        | 25. Johns Hopkins.  | <i>d.</i> 60 (P).    |
| 7. B. M. 739.                    | 16. Pennsylv. 2747. | 26. B. M. 744.      | 37. B. M. 746.       |
| 8. Harvard 2211.                 | 17. Johns Hopkins.  | 27. Chicago.        | 38. Cairo 10002.     |
| 9. Dublin Pap. B. 1.             | 18. B. M. 741.      | 28. St. Andrews.    | 39. Cairo 10001.     |
|                                  | 19. Princeton 0132. | 29. Pennsylv. 2748. | 40. Camb. 4032.      |
|                                  | 692. 19.            | 30. B. M. 745.      | 41. Cairo 10073.     |

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|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|
| 42. B. M. 747.        | 88. Pennsylv. 2752.    | 137. Cairo 10034.      | 186. Bod. Gr. class. |
| 43. B. M. 748.        | 89. Cairo 10008.       | 138. Cairo 10100.      | <i>f.</i> 69 (P).    |
| 44. B. M. 749.        | 90. B. M. 761.         | 139. Cairo 10049.      | 187. Melbourne Pap.  |
| 45. Pennsylv. 2750.   | 91. Holloway.          | 140. Cairo 10057.      | 2.                   |
| 46. Harvard 2212.     | 92. Harvard 2213.      | 141. Cairo 10096.      | 188. Bod. Gr. class. |
| 47. B. M. 750.        | 93. B. M. 762.         | 142. B. M. 769.        | <i>d.</i> 63 (P).    |
| 48. Harrow.           | 94. B. M. 763.         | 143. B. M. 770.        | 189. B. M. 773.      |
| 49. Dublin Pap. E. 1. | 95. Holloway.          | 144. Cairo 10071.      | 192. Camb. 4046.     |
| 50. Dublin Pap. F. 1. | 96. Camb. 4041.        | 145. Cairo 10066.      | 193. B. M. 774.      |
| 51. Edinburgh.        | 97. Edinburgh.         | 146. Cairo 10076.      | 194. Pennsylv. 2756. |
| 52. Glasgow.          | 98. B. M. 764.         | 147. Cairo 10074.      | 195. B. M. 775.      |
| 53. B. M. 751.        | 99. B. M. 765.         | 148. Cairo 10075.      | 197. B. M. 776.      |
| 54. Chicago.          | 100. Edinburgh.        | 149. Cairo 10045.      | 198. B. M. 777.      |
| 55 (3 copies). Camb.  | 101. Chicago.          | 150. Cairo 10051.      | 199. B. M. 778.      |
| 4033-5.               | 102. B. M. 766.        | 151. Cairo 10094.      | 200. Harvard 2217.   |
| 56. Camb. 4036.       | 103. B. M. 767.        | 152. Cairo 10048.      | 201. B. M. 779.      |
| 57. Johns Hopkins.    | 104. Camb. 4042.       | 153. Cairo 10044.      | 202. Camb. 4047.     |
| 58. B. M. 752.        | 105. Dublin Pap. C. 1. | 154. Cairo 10102.      | 204. Edinburgh.      |
| 59. B. M. 753.        | 106. Chicago.          | 155. Cairo 10020.      | 205. B. M. 780.      |
| 60. Dublin Pap. D. 1. | 107. Cairo 10006.      | 156. Cairo 10035.      | 206. Yale.           |
| 61. Camb. 4037.       | 108. Pennsylv. 2753.   | 157. Cairo 10042.      | 207. B. M. 781.      |
| 62. Bod. Gr. class.   | 109. Harvard 2214.     | 158. Cairo 10043.      | 208. B. M. 782.      |
| <i>d.</i> 61 (P).     | 110. Eton.             | 159-63. Chicago.       | 209. Harvard 2218.   |
| 63. Cairo 10007.      | 111. Clifton.          | 164. B. M. 771.        | 210. Camb. 4048.     |
| 64. Princeton 0132.   | 112. Harrow.           | 165. Camb. 4044.       | 211. Am.             |
| 692. 64.              | 113. Cairo 10011.      | 166. Bod. Gr. class.   | 212. B. M. 1180.     |
| 65. Pennsylv. 2751.   | 114. Eton.             | <i>c.</i> 47 (P).      | 213. Am.             |
| 66. Camb. 4038.       | 115. Yale.             | 167. Bod. Gr. class.   | 214. B. M. 1181.     |
| 67 (2 copies). B. M.  | 116. Clifton.          | <i>f.</i> 67 (P).      | 215. B. M. 1182.     |
| 754.                  | 117. Chicago.          | 168. Pennsylv. 2754.   | 216. Yale.           |
| 68. Owen's Coll.      | 118. Camb. 4043.       | 169. Vassar.           | 217. Camb. 4049.     |
| 69. Chicago.          | 119. Bod. Gr. class.   | 170. Harvard 2215.     | 218. B. M. 1183.     |
| 70. Vassar.           | <i>f.</i> 66 (P).      | 171. Camb. 4045.       | 219. Am.             |
| 71. B. M. 755.        | 120. Haileybury.       | 172. Melbourne Pap.    | 220-1. B. M. 1184.   |
| 72. Glasgow.          | 121. Chicago.          | 1.                     | 222. B. M. 1185.     |
| 72 (a). Chicago.      | 122. B. M. 768.        | 173. St. Andrews.      | 223. Bod. Gr. class. |
| 73. Owen's Coll.      | 123. Cairo 10014.      | 174. Johns Hopkins.    | <i>a.</i> 8 (P).     |
| 74. Hamilton.         | 124. Winchester.       | 175. Bristol.          | 224. B. M. 783.      |
| 75. Chicago.          | 125. Cairo 10062.      | 176. Brussels.         | 225. B. M. 784.      |
| 76. Camb. 4039.       | 126. Cairo 10085.      | 177. Bod. Gr. class.   | 226. Columbia.       |
| 77. Dublin Pap. D. 2. | 127. Cairo 10084.      | <i>d.</i> 62 (P).      | 227. B. M. 785.      |
| 79. B. M. 756.        | 128. Cairo 10121.      | 178. Hamilton.         | 228. Bod. Gr. class. |
| 80. Winchester.       | 129. Cairo 10082.      | 179. B. M. 772.        | <i>d.</i> 64 (P).    |
| 81. B. M. 757.        | 130. Cairo 10072.      | 180. Harvard 2216.     | 229. B. M. 786.      |
| 82. B. M. 758.        | 131. Cairo 10063.      | 181. Pennsylv. 2755.   | 230. Johns Hopkins.  |
| 83. Rugby.            | 132. Cairo 10133.      | 182. Bod. Gr. class.   | 231. Camb. 4050.     |
| 83 (a). Repton.       | 133. Cairo 10056.      | <i>f.</i> 68 (P).      | 232. B. M. 787.      |
| 84. B. M. 759.        | 134. Cairo 10053.      | 183. Dublin Pap. F. 2. | 233. Pennsylv. 2757. |
| 85. B. M. 760.        | 135. Cairo 10018.      | 184. Dublin Pap. E. 2. | 234. St. Andrews.    |
| 86. Camb. 4040.       | 136. Cairo 10103.      | 185. Glasgow.          | 235. Camb. 4051.     |



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|--|---|---|---|
| 236. B. M. 788.                          | 287. Am.                                  | 329. Yale.                                | 373. Bod. Gr. class.<br><i>f.</i> 70 (P). |
| 237. Bod. Gr. class.<br><i>a.</i> 8 (P). | 288. B. M. 798.                           | 330. Columbia.                            | 374. B. M. 807.                           |
| 238. Dublin Pap. E. 3.                   | 289. B. M. 799.                           | 331. Johns Hopkins.                       | 375. Camb. 4066.                          |
| 239. Pennsylv. 2758.                     | 290. Pennsylv. 2761.                      | 332. Princeton 0132.<br>692. 332.         | 376. Edinburgh.                           |
| 240. B. M. 789.                          | 291. B. M. 800.                           | 333. Princeton 0132.<br>692. 333.         | 377. B. M. 808.                           |
| 241. Princeton 0132.<br>692. 241.        | 292. Camb. 4057.                          | 334. Johns Hopkins.                       | 378. B. M. 809.                           |
| 242. Graz.                               | 293-5. Am.                                | 335. Camb. 4060.                          | 379. Bod. Gr. class.<br><i>e.</i> 83 (P). |
| 243. B. M. 790.                          | 296. Johns Hopkins.                       | 336. Dublin Pap. F. 3.                    | 380. Camb. 4067.                          |
| 244. B. M. 791.                          | 297-8. Am.                                | 337. Edinburgh.                           | 381. B. M. 810.                           |
| 245. Pennsylv. 2759.                     | 299. Bradfield.                           | 338. Glasgow.                             | 382. B. M. 811.                           |
| 246. Camb. 4052.                         | 300. Bradfield.                           | 339. B. M. 803.                           | 383. Camb. 4068.                          |
| 247. Glasgow.                            | 301. B. M. 801.                           | 340. St. Andrews.                         | 384. B. M. 812.                           |
| 248. Camb. 4053.                         | 302. Bod. Gr. class.<br><i>g.</i> 47 (P). | 341. Owen's Coll.                         | 385. Dublin Pap. F. 5.                    |
| 249. Yale.                               | 303. Bod. Gr. class.<br><i>g.</i> 48 (P). | 342. Camb. 4061.                          | 386. Bod. Gr. class.<br><i>f.</i> 71 (P). |
| 250. Am.                                 | 304. Camb. 4058.                          | 343. Dublin Pap. E. 4.                    | 387. Bod. Gr. class.<br><i>e.</i> 84 (P). |
| 251. B. M. 1186.                         | 305. Bod. Gr. class.<br><i>c.</i> 48 (P). | 344. Pennsylv. 2764.                      | 388. Dublin Pap. F. 6.                    |
| 252. Liverpool.                          | 306. Cairo 10003.                         | 345. Columbia.                            | 389. Bod. Gr. class.<br><i>e.</i> 85 (P). |
| 253. Graz.                               | 307. Cairo 10012.                         | 346. Melbourne Pap.<br>4.                 | 390. Bod. Gr. class.<br><i>d.</i> 68 (P). |
| 254-7. Am.                               | 308. Dublin Pap. B. 2.                    | 347. Camb. 4062.                          | 391. B. M. 813.                           |
| 258. Brussels.                           | 309. Edinburgh.                           | 348. Pennsylv. 2765.                      | 392. Am.                                  |
| 259. Am.                                 | 310. Glasgow.                             | 349. Pennsylv. 2766.                      | 393. Yale.                                |
| 260. Dublin Pap. D.<br>3.                | 311. St. Andrews.                         | 350. Camb. 4063.                          | 394. Camb. 4069.                          |
| 261. B. M. 792.                          | 312. Owen's Coll.                         | 351. Yale.                                | 395. Am.                                  |
| 262. Columbia.                           | 313. Camb. 4059.                          | 352. Columbia.                            | 396. B. M. 814.                           |
| 263. Melbourne Pap.<br>3.                | 314. Harvard 2220.                        | 353. Johns Hopkins.                       | 397. Bod. Gr. class.<br><i>d.</i> 69 (P). |
| 264. Camb. 4054.                         | 315. Bod. Gr. class.<br><i>d.</i> 65 (P). | 354. B. M. 804.                           | 398. Bod. Gr. class.<br><i>c.</i> 50 (P). |
| 265. Vict.                               | 316. Bod. Gr. class.<br><i>e.</i> 78 (P). | 355. Camb. 4064.                          | 399. Columbia.                            |
| 266. B. M. 1187.                         | 317. Columbia.                            | 356. Dublin Pap. E. 5.                    | 400. Bod. Gr. class.<br><i>d.</i> 70 (P). |
| 267. Am.                                 | 318. B. M. 802.                           | 357. Princeton 0132.<br>692. 357.         | 401-2. Am.                                |
| 269. Pennsylv. 2760.                     | 319. Johns Hopkins.                       | 358. Columbia.                            | 407. B. M. 1189.                          |
| 270. B. M. 793.                          | 320. Princeton 0132.<br>692. 320.         | 359. Glasgow.                             | 445. B. M. 1190.                          |
| 272. Am.                                 | 321. Bod. Gr. class.<br><i>d.</i> 66 (P). | 360. Bod. Gr. class.<br><i>e.</i> 81 (P). | 446-8. Am.                                |
| 273. Brussels.                           | 322. Bod. Gr. class.<br><i>c.</i> 49 (P). | 361. Bod. Gr. class.<br><i>e.</i> 82 (P). | 449. Brussels.                            |
| 274. Am.                                 | 323. Pennsylv. 2762.                      | 362. Harvard 2222.                        | 450. Graz.                                |
| 275. B. M. 794.                          | 324. Bod. Gr. class.<br><i>e.</i> 80 (P). | 363. Camb. 4065.                          | 451. Vict.                                |
| 276. Am.                                 | 325. Bod. Gr. class.<br><i>d.</i> 67 (P). | 364. Dublin Pap. F. 4.                    | 452-3. Am.                                |
| 277. B. M. 1188.                         | 326. Bod. Gr. class.<br><i>e.</i> 79 (P). | 365. Dublin Pap. E. 6.                    | 454. Bod. Gr. class.<br><i>c.</i> 54 (P). |
| 278. B. M. 795.                          | 327. Pennsylv. 2763.                      | 366. Dublin Pap. E. 7.                    | 455-6. Am.                                |
| 279. Camb. 4055.                         | 328. Harvard 2221.                        | 367. B. M. 805.                           | 457. Vict.                                |
| 280. Camb. 4056.                         |   | 368. Graz.                                | 458-62. Am.                               |
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6. Cairo 10764.	30-1. Toronto.	56. Cairo 10781.	88. Pennsylv. 2769.
7. B. M. 817.	32. Princeton 0132.	57. Cairo 10225.	89. B. M. 826.
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| 142. Cairo 10247.    | 199. Cairo 10227.    | 252. Vict.          | d. 71 (P).           |
| 143. Cairo 10242.    | 200. Cairo 10228.    | 253. Am.            | 314-7. Am.           |
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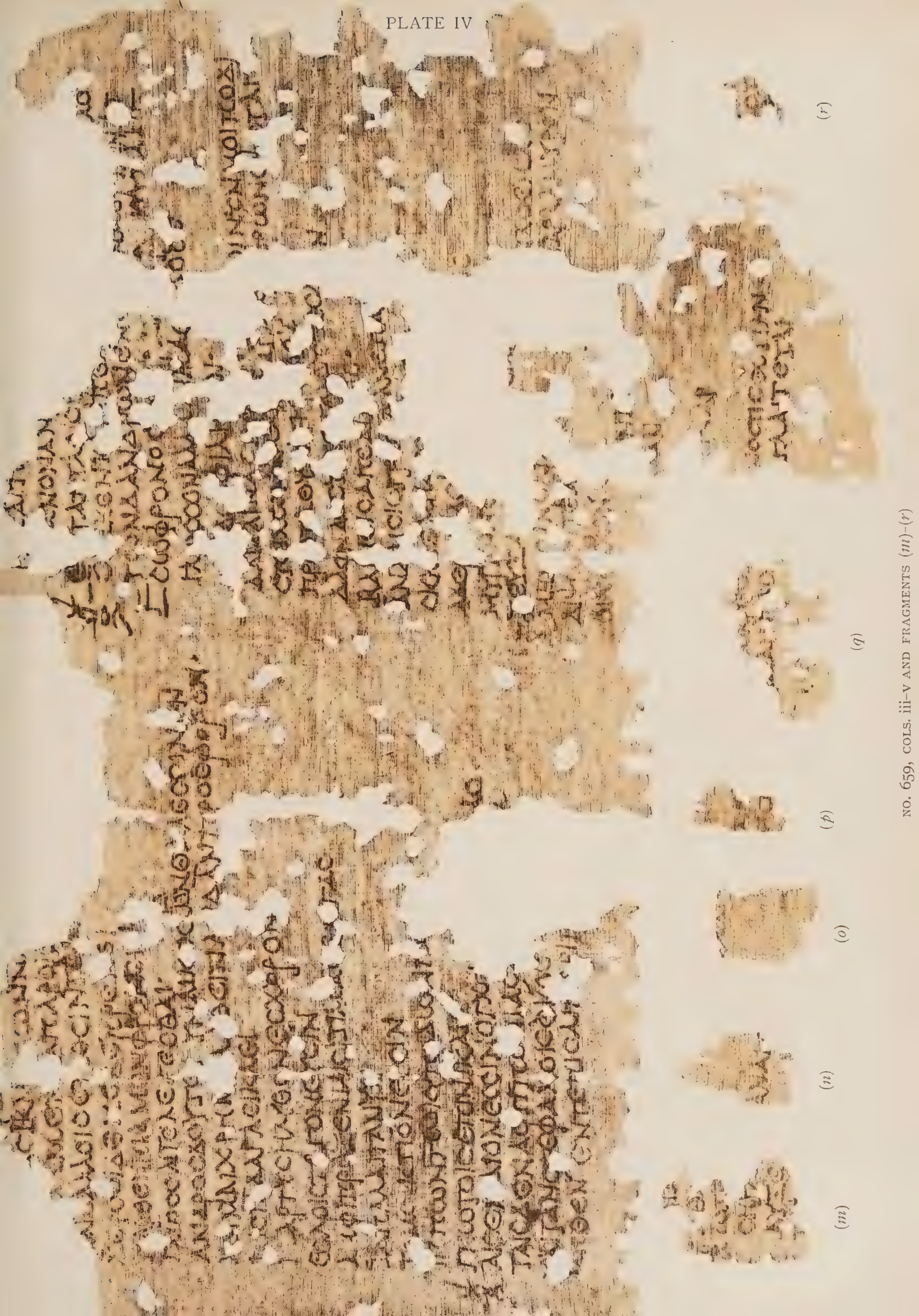




NO. 659, COLS. i-ii, AND FRAGMENTS (a)-(l)











Fragment of a papyrus scroll with Greek text in two columns. The text is written in a cursive hand and is partially obscured by damage and holes. The left column contains approximately 10 lines of text, and the right column contains approximately 10 lines of text. The text is difficult to decipher due to the fragmentary nature of the document.

NO. 735

Fragment of a papyrus scroll with Greek text in two columns. The text is written in a cursive hand and is partially obscured by damage and holes. The left column contains approximately 10 lines of text, and the right column contains approximately 10 lines of text. The text is difficult to decipher due to the fragmentary nature of the document.

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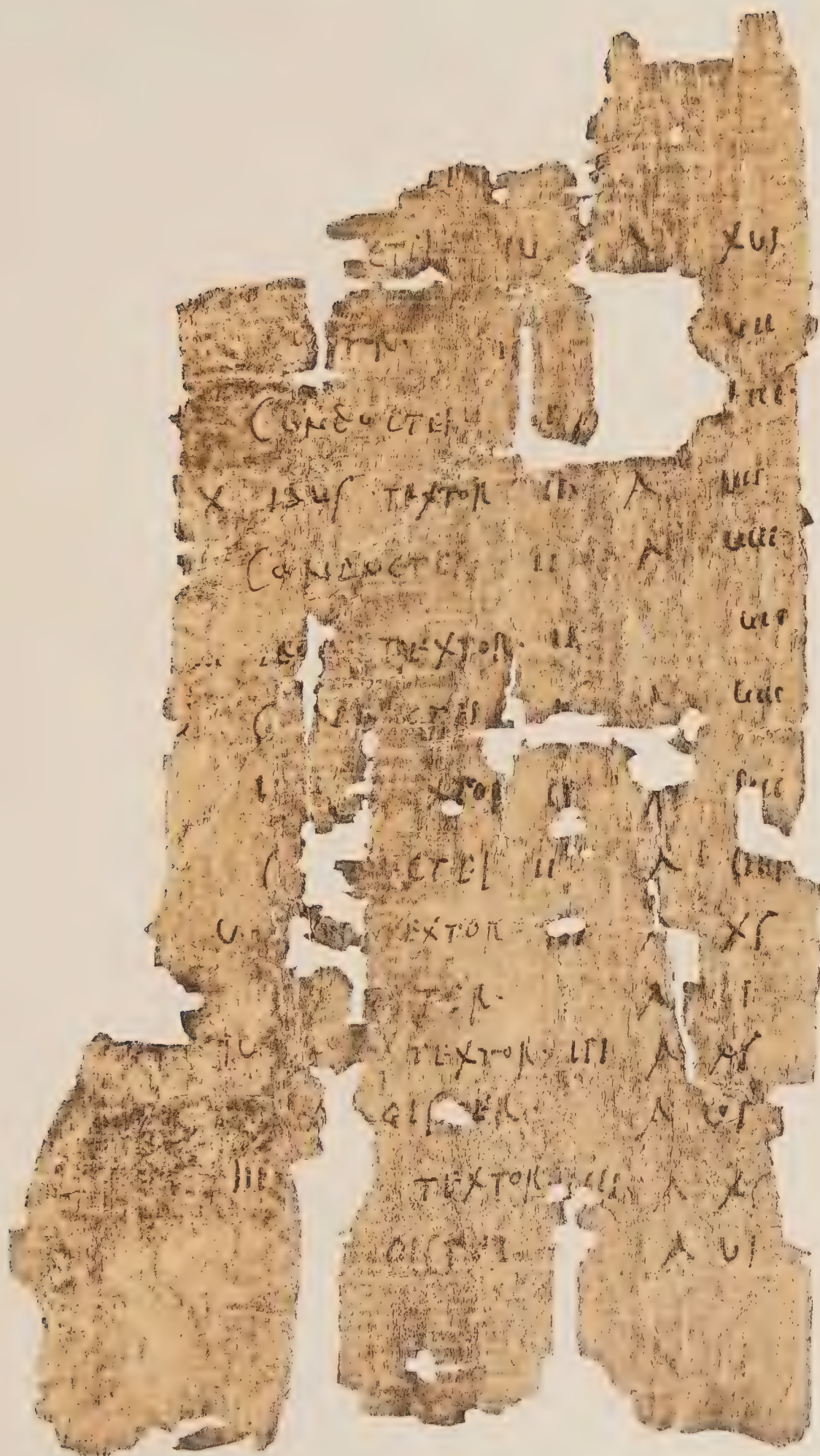
















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